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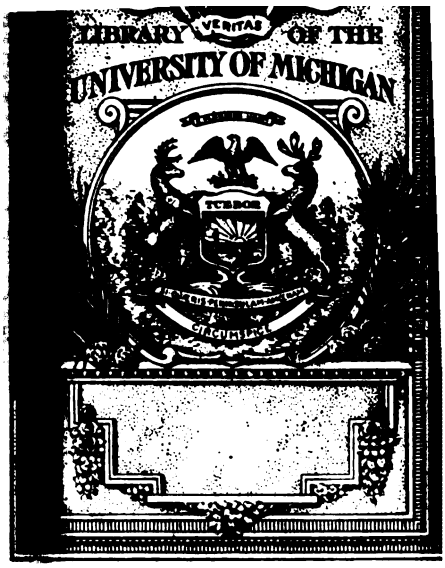
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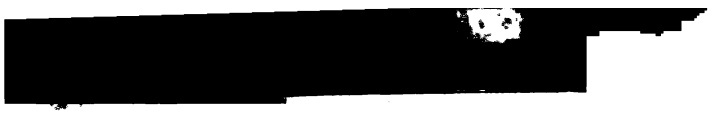


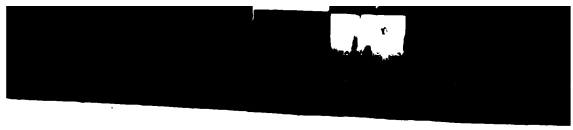

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THE HISTORY OF
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE



THE HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

BY

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TO

JAMES MORGAN HART

IN

GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM



PREFACE.

THE following chapters are based on lectures given for several years past at Cornell University. These lectures were intended to embody some of the more recent investigations in English philology and serve as an introduction to the history of the English language. This will explain in brief the origin of the book now published. Some further words as to its plan may not be out of place.

It will be noted that the author has emphasized throughout the development of the native element in English. This has been done because many studies of the English language seem to give undue prominence to the foreign element, and to leave an incorrect impression as to what would have been the development of our mother tongue if there had been no such contact with foreign nations as has taken place in the history of the English people. Such an incorrect impression results mainly from a wrong conception of the Norman conquest and of its effect upon the English language. The Middle English period has therefore been treated with special fulness, in order to show the real relation of the conquest by the Normans to the language of the conquered people. In this part my indebtedness to the historians Freeman and Stubbs will

be evident. At the same time the facts cited by those writers have been examined anew from the standpoint of the philologist, in order to correct misinterpretations to which the historian not trained in linguistic science is liable. Yet not only in connection with the Middle English period, but in the treatment of the vocabulary, the phonology, and the inflections, the same importance has been attached to English as one of the Teutonic languages, and one not so much modified by external influences as has been often supposed.

Another element in the history of English which has also received special attention is the phonology of the language, or the sounds and their relationships. No apology for this will be necessary to those who know the importance of the study of the spoken, that is the living, word as fundamental to all linguistic study. To others the author may say with the confidence of an English philologist in his preface to a recent book, the day of phonology as a fundamental adjunct to linguistic study must inevitably come. While the part dealing with phonology will be least attractive to many, and may be omitted altogether by some, the author was unwilling to attempt a history of English without emphasizing the importance of phonetics in explaining linguistic facts, the regularity of phonetic changes, and the relationships of words as shown by the relationships of the sounds composing them.

This book is designed for college classes and for teachers of English. The purpose was to make a handbook which should be neither too elaborate for college use nor too elementary for the scholar. For this reason a greater

minuteness in detail was deemed inadvisable. Some will no doubt wish to supplement the book with additional lectures, and with more detailed explanation of many points. On the other hand some may prefer to use only the historical portions, with the chapters on the vocabulary and on inflections. It is hoped the book may be useful to both classes, serving as a basis for study, and stimulating if possible to more extended investigation of the philology of the English tongue.

My indebtedness to various books and studies will be readily perceived from the authors quoted or referred to in the foot-notes. The latter will also direct further study in connection with subjects mentioned in the text. In acknowledging suggestions and assistance from various friends, I desire to mention especially Professor Herbert Eveleth Greene of Johns Hopkins University, who has kindly read the book as it was passing through the press. My thanks are also due to Mr. William Strunk, Jr., and Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott, who have assisted in proof-reading.

O. F. E.

ITHACA, Sept. 1, 1894.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Eng.	= Modern English.
Fr.	= French.
Ger.	= German.
Gk.	= Greek.
Goth.	= Gothic.
I-E.	= Indo-European.
Lat.	= Latin.
LdE.	= London English (Modern).
ME.	= Middle English.
MnE.	= Modern English.
ODan.	= Old Danish.
OE.	= Old English.
OF.	= Old French.
OFris.	= Old Frisian.
OHG.	= Old High German.
OIcl.	= Old Icelandic.
OLF.	= Old Low Franconian.
ON.	= Old Norse.
ONorw.	= Old Norwegian.
OSax.	= Old Saxon.
OSw.	= Old Swedish.
Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Teut.	= Teutonic.
WS.	= West Saxon.
<	= From or derived from.



I.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ENGLISH TO OTHER LANGUAGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY.

1. The English language belongs to the Teutonic branch of the Indo-European family of tongues. By a family of languages is meant a group bound together by unmistakable likenesses in words and grammatical forms. A branch indicates a smaller group which has, besides the characteristics of the larger division, a certain similarity in words and forms not known to other members of the family. This similarity within the group is accounted for by original union of all members of the family within a limited area; in other words, by a common home and a common ancestry. The differences between two members of the same family, or group, are the result of gradual separation from one another, emphasized it may have been by some natural boundary, as a river or mountain range. Under these circumstances began changes in the spoken language, which in time resulted in different dialects. Completer separation, as by migration, caused greater differences to appear, until



the various languages of the group became mutually unintelligible and were no longer recognized by the casual observer as having anything in common. There still remain, however, in all members of the family a body of simple, every-day words easily recognized as cognates by the student of language, together with certain forms of inflection that the philologist is able to trace to a common source.

2. There are in all about one hundred families of languages known to the philologist, although but few of these have been studied with any considerable degree of thoroughness. The remaining families are made up of the aboriginal dialects of America and Africa, where the lack of literature and the rapid changes constantly going on, prevent the arrangement into determinate groups. The four families that have been most systematically investigated are the Hamitic, the Semitic, the Ural-Altaic, and the Indo-European families, in the last of which alone we are specially interested.

3. The Indo-European family consists of languages of the inflectional type; that is, in all members of the group words are made up of roots and inflectional endings, or modifying parts, united into inseparable wholes. But from this it is clear that we may suppose a time when the Indo-European, or parent speech, was not inflectional; that is, when the inflectional suffixes had not become attached to words. This is sometimes called the root period of the parent speech. Later, words of the inflectional type gradually arose by a union of roots and suffixes, or by a soldering together of words forming a syntactical group. After the

inflectional type had been assumed, the Indo-European family gradually split up into many dialects, the differentiation taking place as early as 2000 B.C. This is proved by the fact that we know the history of the languages of India from about 1500 B.C.

4. The Indo-European family[1] includes eight branches, each of which has several sub-divisions. They are as follows: —

I. THE ARYAN BRANCH. — This consists of two groups, the Indian and the Iranian. The Indian is represented by the archaic language of the Brahmanic scriptures, or *Veda*, the oldest portions of which were perhaps written as early as 1500 B.C. Nearest to this is the Sanskrit proper, the representative of a lost dialect very like the Vedic. Sanskrit became the literary language of India, and so has been handed down in a fixed form. Beside it existed a vulgar language, or Prakrit, differing from the Sanskrit as early as the third century B.C. The Prakrit was also adopted as a literary language by the Buddhists, and called Pali, while from it have descended in addition the numerous dialects of India. The Iranian is first represented by the Old Persian, in which cuneiform inscriptions were written from about 520 to 350 B.C. Next comes the Avestic, or Zend, the language of the sacred book of Zoroaster. The modern representatives of Iranian, though

[1] For these subdivisions cf. *The Elements of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, by Karl Brugmann, translated by Joseph Wright. Vol. I. Introduction.



not direct descendants of the Old Persian, or Zend, are the Persian, the Kurdish, and the Afghan.

II. THE ARMENIAN BRANCH. — Armenian was long supposed to be a member of the Iranian group, but it has been recently proved to be an independent member of the Indo-European family. It is preserved as a literary language, Old Armenian, which dates from the fifth century A.D. when it was used in the Christian books of the Armenians. There are also modern Armenian dialects.

III. THE HELLENIC BRANCH. — The Greek dialects, making up the Hellenic branch, are numerous. There are the Ionic-Attic ; the Doric ; the northwest Greek of Phocis, Ætolia, Epirus, etc. ; the Æolic ; the Elean ; the Arcadian-Cyprian ; and the Pamphylian. The literary language, common to all Greeks, sprang from the Attic in the fifth century B.C. This is the form that has come down to us, the dialects being mainly known through inscriptions. There are also many dialects of modern Greek, although their relation to the older language has not been accurately determined.

IV. THE ALBANIAN BRANCH. — This consists of the language of ancient Illyria, which has been known only since the seventeenth century. It is of little importance except to the philologist, who finds in it a connecting link between the Hellenic and the Italic branches.

V. THE ITALIC BRANCH. — To this branch belong the Latin and the Umbrian-Samnitic dialects. Latin, the literary language of ancient Rome, is known from about

300 B.C. when it sprang from the dialect of Latium. Side by side with this there existed a popular language, the vulgar Latin, which as spoken in the provinces developed into the modern Romance languages, the most important being Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. Of the Umbrian-Samnitic group, the best known are the Umbrian and the Oscan, with which we are acquainted through inscriptions dating from the last centuries before our era.

VI. THE CELTIC BRANCH. — The Celtic was originally spoken over Portugal, Spain, France, and England, but was later displaced by the Romance languages and English. This branch includes three groups: the Gallic, the Britannic, and the Gaelic. Gallic is little known except through names quoted by Greek and Latin authors, or through inscriptions and coins. Britannic includes the Cymric, or Welsh, the Cornish, and the Armorican of northwest France. Welsh and Armorican are known from the eighth or ninth centuries, Cornish from a somewhat later period. The latter also became extinct at the end of the last, or the beginning of the present, century. To the Gaelic belong the Irish, the Scotch-Gaelic, and the Manx now spoken in the Isle of Man. The oldest Gaelic is known from inscriptions of about 500 A.D. Old Irish was a literary language in the eighth century, while Scotch-Gaelic literature begins somewhat later. Manx has been known only in the last few centuries.

VII. THE BALTO-SLAVIC BRANCH. — This consists of the Prussian which died out in the seventeenth century, the Lithu-

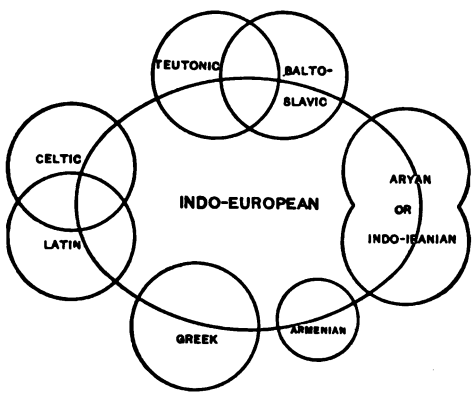


anian and the Lettic, forming the Baltic group. The Slavonic group falls into two divisions, the southeastern and the western. The first comprises Russian in its varieties, with Bulgarian and Illyrian; the second, Czech, or Bohemian, Sorabian, and Polish. The oldest and most important of these is Old Bulgarian, the language in which the Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius wrote in the ninth century. It thus became the language of the Greek church, a somewhat modified form of it being called Church Slavonic.

VIII. THE TEUTONIC BRANCH. — This is the branch to which our own language belongs, together with German, Dutch, Flemish, and the Scandinavian languages. Its oldest representative is Gothic, preserved to us in a partial translation of the Bible by Bishop Ulfilas, who lived from 311 to 381 A.D. Norse, or Scandinavian, was a single speech down to the period of the Vikings 800 to 1000 A.D., its oldest records being runic inscriptions dating perhaps from the fourth century. Other members of the Teutonic branch are Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian, and Old High German, the more exact relationships of which will be given hereafter. The earliest records of these languages date from the seventh to the ninth centuries, with the exception of Frisian, which has been known only from the fourteenth century.

5. In order to show the relation of the eight branches here described, the branching stem has been most frequently used. This, however, fails to emphasize the common inheritance of all the Indo-European languages, besides

not well representing the theory of dialectal divergence. A better representation of the more important relations appears in the accompanying diagram. The large oval in this diagram represents the common ground of words and grammatical forms. The overlapping of the smaller circles indicates the possession of similar forms binding together the minor groups. The latter groups, while based on certain resemblances, take no account of others



which might be regarded as important. With certain other characteristics in view, Teutonic and Celtic might be united; Latin and Greek also have some common bonds, and likewise Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian. This indicates that the various branches of the Indo-European family are inseparably united by bonds that cross and recross in many ways. But the diagram above probably takes into account the more important relationships of the principal members of the family.



6. The common ancestry of the Indo-European languages implies a common home in the remote past. But when we ask the geographical position of the parent race, we are met with various answers. The view most commonly held in the past has been that this home was in the table-lands of central Asia. Fifty years ago however, an English scholar, Latham, proposed Europe as the original home of the Indo-European family and more and more this view has found support among scholars. When a European home was first proposed, the region assigned by scholars was that surrounding the southern end of the Baltic Sea; but more recently the tendency has been to place the home of the parent people farther south, until the region more commonly chosen at the present time is about the Black Sea in southern Russia. The arguments for and against these views are too elaborate for our space, but it may be said in general that the conclusions rest upon a minute study of the culture of the parent people, as shown by the languages and literatures of its descendants.[1]

7. From this survey of the Indo-European family it will be evident that English is no isolated language, but that it belongs to a widely extended group with ramifications in all parts of Europe and considerable portions of Asia. To all of these English is related through many common words inherited by all alike, and by many kindred inflectional forms which, though largely lost in our modern speech, can be explained only by a common ancestry with

[1] See, for a discussion of the question, Schrader's *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, translated by Jevons, Chap. XIV.

Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Irish, Russian, and other languages. An extended treatment of these common bonds of union belongs to comparative philology, to which we owe many discoveries in recent years. More important for our present purpose is the relation of English to the other Teutonic languages and this will be treated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES — COMMON CHARACTERISTICS.

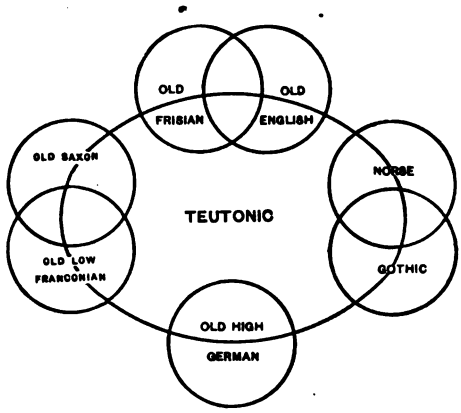
8. In § 4 was given a general description of the Teutonic branch of the Indo-European family. We must now take up this branch more in detail. The three main divisions of Teutonic are Norse, or Scandinavian; Gothic; and West Germanic, a term which includes because of certain similarities all the other members of the group. Norse, or Scandinavian, may be divided into West Norse, including Norwegian and Icelandic, and East Norse, comprising Danish and Swedish. Gothic has no modern representative. The language which Ulfilas used in his translation of the Bible was the speech of the West, or Visi-Goths. An East, or Ostro-Gothic speech remained in the Crimea until modern times, but only a few words of it have been preserved to us through the curiosity of travellers. Gothic and Norse were formerly classed together under the title East Germanic, but it is now more common to consider them as separate members of the Teutonic branch.

9. West Germanic as used above is a generic term, by which is meant that no such language is preserved to us except in its descendants, the historical representatives of this division. The name implies a theoretical speech, re-established by comparative study of the various members of the group. It is used, therefore, to embody characteristics

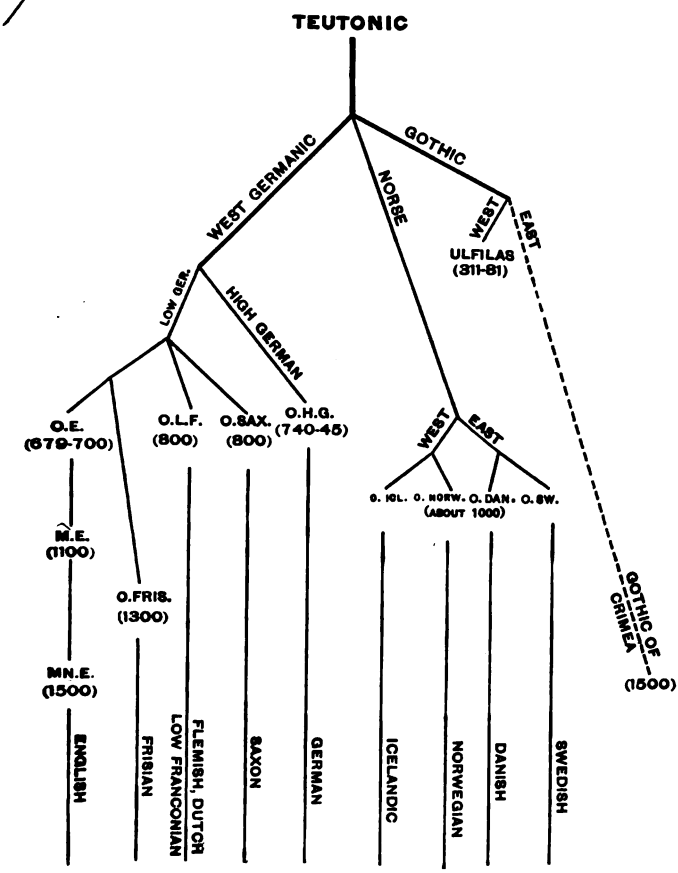
common to all the individuals, just as the term *genus*, applied to plants and animals, includes the characteristics common to all the species. West Germanic has two divisions, High German on the one side and Low German on the other. High German is that spoken in Germany to-day, or originally as the name implies, the language of that part of the Teutonic family which inhabited the highlands of Europe. The distinguishing feature of High German, however, is owing to a consonant change, or shifting of consonants, which took place among the people dwelling in the highlands of Germany, but not among the people dwelling in the lowlands. The modern representative of High German is called New High German, or simply German, the oldest period of the speech being designated as Old High German, and the intermediate period as Middle High German. Low German, again a generic term, is used to designate all the languages not affected by the High German consonant change mentioned above. These are Old English, or Anglo-Saxon; Old Frisian, the descendant of which is still spoken on some of the islands off the coast of North Germany; Old Saxon, now Low German; Old Low Franconian, now Dutch, Flemish, and Low Franconian.

10. The general relationships of the older divisions of the Teutonic language may be represented by the following diagram similar to that used for the Indo-European family, § 5. The common ground of likeness in words and forms is shown by the large oval, into which the circles representing the subdivisions are linked. We have also tried to show some important relationships within the group. Thus

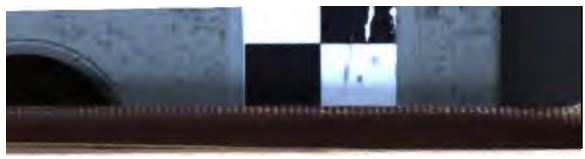
Norse and Gothic may be said to be bound together by certain common characteristics. Old English and Old Frisian are even more completely united by common bonds, so that some scholars set up a theoretic Anglo-Frisian as the parent of both. Next to these come Low Franconian and Old Saxon, while Old High German by reason of its consonant system stands alone. But as in the case of the



Indo-European languages, such a division into minor groups leaves out of account some other characteristics, by reason of which a different interlinking is possible. For example, Old Low Franconian may be linked with Old High German, and the latter for certain reasons with Old Norse or Old Saxon. But this only shows that the union of the Teutonic languages is such as no diagram can fully represent. Some idea of the relative age of the various Teutonic languages, as well as an approximation to the time of their separation, may be gained from the following more complicated diagram :—



11. Such a grouping suggests the questions, What are the characteristics on which it rests? In what respects does the Teutonic branch differ from the other branches of the Indo-European family? And since these are as necessary to an understanding of English as of any other Teutonic



speech, they rightly belong here. Some of the principal peculiarities of the Teutonic languages relate to —

1. A Great Consonant Change, or Shifting of Consonants.
2. The Accent of Words.
3. A Twofold Declension of Adjectives.
4. The Verbal System.

These characteristics, it should be remembered, are more noticeable in the older periods of the Teutonic languages, although no inconsiderable traces of them are still to be found in all members of the group.

The Great Consonant Shift.

12. The Indo-European consonant system is not perfectly preserved in any language. It is most nearly kept in Sanskrit, and with considerable regularity in all other members of the family except Teutonic. The last therefore stands by itself by reason of characteristic consonantal differences. Even a superficial examination of the classical languages shows, that there are many words which have similar meanings and some resemblances in form, while in other respects they differ from English words. Examples are Latin *frater*, English *brother;* the Latin roots *ped-*, Eng. *foot; ed-*, Eng. *eat;* Latin *tu*, Eng. *thou; duo*, Eng. *two; qui*, Eng. *who* (*hwo*); *collis*, Eng. *hill;* and many others. Examination of many examples led Rask, a Danish scholar (1787–1832), to the discovery that these changes were in great measure regular, and that they came about in accordance with a certain law of change. This law was afterwards formulated more completely by a Ger-

man scholar, Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), and from him it has been more commonly called Grimm's Law. According to Grimm's statement of the law, certain series of consonant sounds show regular shiftings in the Teutonic languages, as compared with the classical or other Indo-European tongues. This statement, however, has been considerably modified by subsequent investigation.

13. The great difficulty with Grimm's statement of the consonant shifting is, that the classical languages do not perfectly preserve the Indo-European consonant system and it is only when we consider this system that the law appears in its perfection. For example, I-E. *dh* appears as *θ* in Greek, and in Latin as *f* initially, *b* or *d* medially, while some other divergencies in the classical languages, compared with Indo-European, are equally great. For this reason it is necessary to state the law of consonant change, or the great consonant shift, from the standpoint of Indo-European. This we shall attempt to do, giving illustrative examples from Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.

14. The first or great consonant shift affected four series of Indo-European consonants as follows: —

I. The Labials *bh*, *b*, *p*.
II. The Dentals *dh*, *d*, *t*.
III. The Palatals *gh'*, *g'*, *k'*.
IV. The Velars *gh*, *g*, *k*.

The last series shows a double development in Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic, so that it becomes necessary to make two divisions, —



1. The *gh*, *g*, *k* series, and
2. The *ghu̯*, *gu̯*, *ku̯* series,

in the last of which *u̯* represents a labialized form of the consonants, which later usually became a consonant + *w* or *u*. For Teutonic, however, series III and division 1 of series IV. have come together by a later development, so that the five divisions noted might again resolve themselves into four. But to prevent confusion, it seems better that the development of each series and subdivision should be considered separately, with some typical examples to illustrate the changes.

15. THE LABIAL SERIES. — The Indo-European labials *bh*, *b*, and *p* shifted in early Teutonic to *b*, *p*, and *f* respectively. It is important to note that I-E. *bh* appears only in Sanskrit, its Greek representative being *φ*, and its Latin symbols *f* initially, and *b* medially. It may also be pointed out that I-E. *b* is a rare sound, its Teutonic equivalent *p* probably not occurring initially and seldom medially. Thus English words with initial *p* are almost wholly of foreign origin.

I-E. *bh* TO TEUT. *b*.

Skt. *bhṛ*, 'bear'; Gk. *φέρ-ω*; Lat. *fer-o*; Eng. *bear*.

Skt. *bhū*, 'become, be'; Gk. *φύ-ω*, 'grow'; Lat. *fu-i*, 'became, was'; Eng. *be*.

Skt. *bhaj*, 'divide, share'; Gk. *φαγ-εῖν*, 'get one's portion, eat,' *φαγ-ός*, 'oak' (tree yielding edible fruit); Lat. *fag-us*, 'beech'; Eng. *beech*.

Skt. *bhā*, 'shine, appear'; Gk. *φη-μί*, 'reveal, say'; Lat. *fa-ri*, 'say'; Eng. *ban*, 'public proclamation.'

Medial or final *b* of early Teutonic became *v* (written *f*) in Old English, and in modern English *v*. Typical examples are: —

Skt. *vabh*, 'weave'; Gk. ὑφ-ή (*ϝεφ-ή)[1], 'web'; Eng. *weave*.

Skt. *lubh*, 'desire'; Gk. λίψ (*λίφ-ς), 'longing'; Lat. *lub-et*, 'it pleases'; Eng. *lief*, 'dear.'

Skt. *gárbha*, 'embryo'; Gk. δολφό-ς, δελφύ-ς, 'matrix'; Eng. *calf*.

Skt. *babhrú*, 'large ichneumon'; Lat. *fiber*, 'beaver'; Eng. *beaver*.

I-E. *b* to Teut. *p*.

No certain example of Teutonic initial *p* from I-E. *b* occurs, and other examples are rare.

Skt. *sab-ar*, 'nectar'; Eng. *sap*.

Gk. τύρβ-η, 'crowd'; Lat. *turb-a*, 'crowd', *trib-us*, 'tribe'; Eng. *-thorp*, 'village,' in place names, § 166.

Lat. *lūbr-icus*, 'slippery'; Eng. *slipper-y*.

Lat. *lab-i*, 'sink away'; Eng. *sleep*.

I-E. *p* to Teut. *f*.

Skt. *pád*, 'foot'; Gk. πόδ-α; Lat. *ped-em*; Eng. *foot*.

Skt. *paç-ú*, 'cattle'; Lat. *pec-u*; OE. *feoh*, 'cattle'; Eng. *fee*.

Skt. *pára*, 'far'; Gk. πέρα; Lat. *peren-die*, 'day after'; Eng. *far*, *fore*.

[1] A starred form is theoretical; that is, it does not exist in any language, but must be assumed as once existing to account for forms actually found in one or more languages.



Skt. *plu*, 'swim, bath[illegible]'; Gk. *πλέ-ω*, 'float, sail'; Lat. *plu-ere*, 'rain'; Eng. *floa-t*.

Skt. *prá*, 'forth, fore'; Gk. *πρό*, 'before'; Lat. *pro*; Eng. *fore*.

Skt. *ápa*, 'away, off'; Gk. *ἀπό*; Lat. *ab*; Eng. *off*, *of*.

Skt. *lup* (**rup*), 'break, rob'; Lat. *rump-ere*, 'break'; OE. *rēof-an*; Eng. be-*reave*.

16. THE DENTAL SERIES. — The law for the dental series may be stated as follows: Indo-European *dh*, *d*, and *t* shifted in early Teutonic to *d*, *t*, and *th* respectively. But it must be remembered for the examples cited, that I-E. *dh* appears as *dh* or *d* in Sanskrit, as *θ* in Greek, as *f* initially, *b* or *d* medially in Latin. For Teutonic, English examples will be given with occasional references to Old English for earlier forms.

I-E. *dh* TO TEUT. *d*.

Skt. *dhā*, 'place, make'; Gk. *τί-θη-μι*; Lat. *fa-c-ere*, 'make,' *ab-de-re*, 'put off'; Eng. *do*, originally 'make.'

Skt. *dih* (**dhigh*), 'stroke, smear'; Lat. *fing-ere*, 'mould'; Eng. *dough*.

Skt. *dhṛṣ*, 'be bold, dare'; Gk. *θρασ-ύς*, 'bold'; Eng. *dare*, *durs-t*.

Skt. *dvár* (**dhvar*), 'door'; Gk. *θύρ-α*; Lat. *for-is*; Eng. *door*.

Skt. *rudh-irá*, 'red'; Gk. *ἐ-ρυθ-ρός*; Lat. *rub-er*; Eng. *red*.

Skt. *ūdhar*, 'udder'; Gk. *οὖθαρ*; Lat. *uber*; Eng. *udder*.

Skt. *vidh-áva*, 'widow'; Gk. ἠ[illegible]-εος (*ἠϝίθεϝος), 'young man' *i.e.* unmarried; Lat. *vid-uus*, *vid-ua*; Eng. *widow*.

Skt. *bandh* (**bhandh*), 'bind'; Gk. πενθ-ερός, 'connection by marriage'; Lat. *of-fend-ix*, 'knot'; Eng. *bind*.

I-E. *d* TO TEUT. *t*.

Skt. *dam*, 'tame, conquer'; Gk. δαμ-άω, 'overpower'; Lat. *dom-are*, 'tame'; Eng. *tame*.

Skt. *dvá*, 'two'; Gk. δύο; Lat. *duo*; Eng. *two*.

Skt. *dám-a*, 'house'; Gk. δόμ-ος; Lat. *dom-us*; Eng. *tim-ber*.

Skt. *ud-ra*, 'otter'; Gk. ὕδ-ρα 'water-snake, the hydra'; Eng. *otter*.

Skt. *pád*, 'foot'; Gk. πόδ-α; Lat. *ped-em*; Eng. *foot*.

Skt. *ad*, 'eat'; Gk. ἔδ-ω; Lat. *ed-ere*; Eng. *eat*.

Skt. *çrád*, 'trust,' originally perhaps 'heart'; Gk. καρδ-ία; Lat. *cord-is*; Eng. *heart*.

I-E. *t* TO TEUT. *th*.

Skt. *tri*, 'three'; Gk. τρεῖς, τρία; Lat. *tres*, *tria*; Eng. *three*.

Skt. *tan*, 'resound'; Gk. τόν-ος, 'tone'; Lat. *ton-are*, 'resound'; Eng. *thun-der*.

Skt. *tṛṣa*, 'thirst'; Gk. τέρσ-ομαι, 'become dry'; Lat. *torr-et* (**tors-et*), 'grows dry'; Eng. *thirs-t*.

Skt. *pát-tra*, 'feather, wing'; Gk. πέτ-ομαι, 'fly,' πτε-ρόν, 'wing'; Lat. *pen-na* (**pet-na*); Eng. *feather*.

Skt. *dánt*, 'tooth'; Gk. ὀ-δόντ-α; Lat. *dent-em*; OE. *tōð* (**tanð*), Eng. *tooth*.

17. THE PALATAL SERIES. — The law of the palatal series may be simply stated as follows: Indo-European *gh'*,



g', and *k'* became in early Teutonic *g*, *k*, and *h*, respectively. But it will be noticed from the examples that I-E. *gh'* usually appears in Sanskrit as *h*, in Greek as χ, in Latin as *h*; I-E. *g'* appears in Sanskrit as *j*, I-E. *k'* in Sanskrit as *ç*.

I-E. *gh'* TO TEUT. *g*; ENG. *g* OR *y*.

Skt. *haṁsa* (**ghans*), 'goose'; Gk. χήν; Lat. *ans-er* (**hanser*); OE. *gōs* (**gans*), Eng. *goose*.

Skt. *hu* 'pour'; Gk. χέ-ω; Lat. *fu-tis* (**hutis*) 'water-pot' *fons*, 'fountain'; Eng. *gut*.

Skt. *jm-ás*, 'of the earth'; Gk. χαμ-αί, 'on the ground'; Lat. *hum-us*, 'earth,' *hom-o*, 'man'; OE. *guma*, 'man,' Eng. bride-*g(r)oom*.

Skt. *vah*, 'carry'; Gk. ὄχ-ος, 'carriage'; Lat. *veh-ere*, 'carry'; OE. *weg*, Eng. *way*.

I-E. *g'* TO TEUT. *k*; ENG. *k* (*c*), OR *ch*.

Skt. *jān-u*, 'knee'; Gk. γόν-υ; Lat. *gen-u*; Eng. *knee*.

Skt. *jnā*, 'know'; Gk. ἔ-γνω; Lat. *co-gno-vit*; Eng. *know*.

Skt. *jan*, 'beget, be born'; Gk. γε-γον-ώς, 'born'; Lat. *gen-ui*, 'begat'; Eng. *kin*.

Skt. *juṣ*, 'taste'; Gk. γεύ-ομαι; Lat. *gus-tus*, 'taste'; OE. *cēos-an*, Eng. *choose*.

I-E. *k'* TO TEUT. *h*.

Skt. *çat-á*, 'hundred'; Gk. ἑ-κατ-όν; Lat. *cent-um*; Eng. *hund-red*.

Skt. *çún-as*, 'of a dog'; Gk. κύων; Lat. *can-is*; Eng. *houn-d*.

Skt. *çṛ́n-ga*, 'horn'; Gk. κέρ-ας; Lat. *corn-u*; Eng. *horn*.

18. THE VELAR SERIES. — As pointed out in § 14, the velar series has two subdivisions, the simple velars *gh, g, k*, and the labialized velars *ghu̯, gu̯, ku̯*, which must be considered separately. The simple velars have had the same development as the palatals; that is, Indo-European *gh, g, k*, have become Teutonic *g, k*, and *h*, respectively. The origin of the labialized velars is unknown, but their existence in four of the eight Indo-European branches, § 14, makes them of special importance in consonant changes. The labialization *u̯* commonly appears as *w* (*u*) in the Teutonic languages, but sometimes this *w* (*u*) is lost, and sometimes the preceding velar, as shown by the examples. According to the law of change for the labialized velars, Indo-European *ghu̯, gu̯, ku̯* became in Teutonic *w* (*g*), *kw* (*k*), *hw* (*w*).

19. THE SIMPLE VELARS. — It is to be noticed that I-E. *gh* appears in Greek as *χ*, in Latin as *h*; and I-E. *g* appears as *g* (*h*) in Sanskrit.

I-E. *gh* TO TEUT. *g*; ENG. *g* OR *y*.

Skt. *stigh*, 'step, stride'; Gk. *στείχ-ω*, 'ascend'; OE. *stig-an*, 'ascend,' Eng. *sti-le*.

Gk. *χανδ-άνω*, 'lay hold of'; Lat. *prae-hend-ere*, 'seize'; Eng. *get*.

Lat. *host-is*, 'stranger, enemy'; Eng. *guest*, earlier 'stranger, guest.'

I-E. *g* TO TEUT. *k*; Eng. *k* (*ch*).

Skt. *yug-á*, 'yoke'; Gk. *ζυγ-όν*; Lat. *jug-um*; Eng. *yoke*.

Skt. *hanú*, 'chin-bone'; Gk. *γέν-υς*, 'chin'; Lat. *gen-a*, 'cheek'; OE. *cinn*, Eng. *chin*.

Lat. *gel-u*, 'cold'; Eng. *cold*.

I-E. *k* TO TEUT. *h*.

Skt. *kan-kan-i*, 'ornament with balls'; Gk. καν-άζω, 'tune, sound'; Lat. *can-ere*, 'sing'; Eng. *hen*.

Skt. *kēt-ú*, 'brightness'; OE. *hād*, 'condition,' Eng. *-hood* in *manhood*.

Gk. καρπ-ός, 'fruit'; Lat. *carp-ere*, 'pick, pluck'; Eng. *harv-est*.

20. THE LABIALIZED VELARS. — There is greater variety in the appearance of these consonants in the various languages than in the case of any of the other series. I-E. *ghu̯* appears as *gh* (*jh*) in Sanskrit, φ, θ, χ, in Greek, *f*, *b*, *gu*, *v*, in Latin; I-E. *gu̯* appears as *g* (*j*) in Sanskrit, β, δ (ζ), γ in Greek, *v*, *gu*, *g* in Latin; I-E. *ku̯* appears as *ç* (*k*) in Sanskrit, in Greek as π, τ (σ), or κ, in Latin as *qu*, or *c*, in Teutonic usually as *hw*, (*w*), sometimes as *h* or *f*.

I-E. *ghu̯* TO TEUT. *w* (*g*).

Skt. *gharm-á*, 'heat'; Gk. θερμ-ός; Lat. *form-us*, 'warm'; Eng. *warm*.

Gk. νίφ-α, 'snow'; Lat. *niv-em*; Eng. *snow*.

Skt. *ghan-á*, 'slayer'; Gk. φόν-ος 'slaughter'; OE. *gūð* (**gunð*), 'battle,' as in the name *Guthlac*.

I-E. *gu̯* TO TEUT. *kw* (*k*).

Skt. *gó*, *gaús*, 'ox'; Gk. βοῦ-ς; Lat. *bo-s*; OE. *cū*, Eng. *cow*.

Skt. *jīv*, 'live, be alive'; Gk. βίο-ς, 'life'; Lat. *viv-us* (**gvivus*); Eng. *quick*.

Skt. *gam*, 'go'; Gk. βαίν-ω, 'go'; Lat. *veni-re* (**gvemio*), 'come'; OE. *cum-an* (**kwiman*), Eng. *come*.

I-E. *ku̯* TO TEUT. *hw* (*f*).

Skt. *ká-s*, 'who?'; Gk. πη, 'in what direction,' τί-ς, 'who'; Lat. *qui-s*; OE. *hwā*, Eng. *who*.

Skt. *kās*, 'cough'; OE. *hwēs-an*, Eng. *wheeze*.

Skt. *sac*, 'accompany, further'; Gk. ἑπ-ομαι, 'follow'; Lat. *sequ-or*; OE. *sēon* (**sehwan*), 'see,' Eng. *see*.

Skt. *catúr*, *catv-āras*, 'four'; Gk. τέσσ-αρες; Lat. *quattuor*; Eng. *four* (*f* by substitution for original **hw*).

21. For convenience of reference, a summary of the changes making up the first consonant shift is embodied in the following table. To simplify it, however, a small number of consonant variations, especially those due to substitution, § 286, are not included in this table. For these and for additional examples illustrating the changes here discussed, reference may be made to Brugmann's *Comparative Grammar*, already mentioned, § 4. The velar series of consonants is separated into its two divisions, although as before stated, § 14, the development of the palatal series and the simple velars has been the same in Teutonic.

TABLE SHOWING THE FIRST CONSONANT SHIFT.

INDO-EUROPEAN.	SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.	TEUTONIC.	ENGLISH.
THE LABIAL SERIES.					
bh	bh (b)[1]	φ	f [b][2]	b[3]	b
b	b	β	b	p	p
p	p	π	p	f	f

[1] Less frequent or less regular consonants are in parentheses.

[2] Consonants occurring medially only are in brackets.

[3] Teutonic *b*, *d*, *g*, *h* were spirants, but this stage of their development, important as it is in certain respects, has been left out of account here and in the examples above for simplicity.

Indo-European.	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Teutonic.	English.
		The Dental Series.			
dh	dh(d)	θ	f, [d, b]	d	d
d	d	δ	d	t	t
t	t	τ	t	th	th
		The Palatal Series.			
gh′	h	χ	h [g]	g	g, y
g′	j	γ	g	k	k (c), ch
k′	ç	κ	c	h	h
		The Simple Velar Series.			
gh	gh, jh	χ	h [g]	g	g, y
g	g, j	γ	g	k	k (c), ch
k	k, c	κ	c	h	h
		The Labialized Velar Series.			
ghu̯	gh, jh	φ, θ, χ	f (b) [gu, v]	w (g)	w (g)
gu̯	g, j	β, δ, γ	v [gu, g]	kw, k	qu, k (c)
ku̯	k, c	π, τ, κ	qu, c	wh (w, h, f)	wh (w, h, f)

MODIFICATIONS OF THE FIRST CONSONANT SHIFT.

22. The foregoing statement of the law of the first consonant shift is a broad general formulation applicable to the majority of cases. Certain modifications of this general

statement, however, are necessary for consonants developing under more or less exceptional circumstances, and these must be added before we have a complete statement of the law of consonant change from Indo-European to Teutonic. These modifications of the general law apply — first, to sounds which have remained unshifted, because of phonetic influences preventing the operation of the law; and second, to sounds which, after undergoing the regular shift, were influenced by another change that disguised their relation to other consonants of the same series.

23. UNSHIFTED CONSONANTS. — The sounds which remain unshifted all belong to consonant combinations in which, owing to the union, the shifting was effectually resisted. For example, *s* in the combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk*, coalesced so completely with the following sounds as to prevent their shifting. Examples of *sp* are *spade*, Greek σπάθη, 'broad blade'; *spare*, Greek σπαρνός, 'lacking, rare.' The combination *st* is represented by *stead*, Latin *statio*; *stick*, Greek στίγμα; *guest*, Latin *hostis*. The preservation of *sk* is shown by OE. *sceafian* 'shave,' beside Greek σκάπτειν, 'cut'; OE. *fisc*, 'fish,' beside Latin *piscis*. In addition to the unshifted consonants above, *t* and *k* when preceded by voiceless sounds, § 266, remained unshifted. Compare, for example, *haft* allied to Latin *captus*; *night*, OE. *niht*, cognate with Latin *noct-em*.

24. VERNER'S LAW. — Notwithstanding the wide applicability of the law of the first shift and the great regularity of its operation, subsequent investigation showed some cases for which the law afforded no explanation. For example,



loud, OE. ***hlūd***, is cognate with Greek κλυτός and should apparently have final ***th*** instead of ***d***. Other examples are ***speed***, for which we should expect ***speeth*** as cognate with Sanskrit ***sphati***. A similar ***d*** for ***th*** occurs in ***under***, Sanskrit ***antár***, compared with the regular form ***other***, cognate with Sanskrit ***ántara***. One of the most striking of these apparent irregularities is shown by the strong verbs, as in OE. ***sēoðan***, ***sēað***, ***sudon***, ***soden***, 'seethe, sod, sodden,' where the ***th*** (ð) of the first forms becomes ***d*** in the third and fourth and is retained even to modern English. Many other Old English strong verbs show the same variation, although it is not preserved in the modern speech. These and many other examples were a great puzzle to scholars until explained by Karl Verner of Copenhagen, who in 1875 formulated the law which is called by his name. Verner found that initial consonants and those protected by the accent in Indo-European and early Teutonic, which retained for a time the original accent, suffered no variation. But that certain medial or final voiceless consonants in early Teutonic, when not protected by the accent or by contact with other voiceless consonants, became consonants of voiced, or sonant quality. A consonant was thus protected by accent only when the Indo-European and early Teutonic stress rested on the vowel immediately preceding.

25. The only consonants affected by the change called Verner's law, were early Teutonic ***f***, ***th***, ***h*** (***hw***), and ***s*** when inherited from Indo-European, the latter not belonging to the series subject to the first consonant shift. These became, under the circumstances noted above, the

corresponding voiced sounds, which may be written *v*, *th*, *g* (*gw*), and *z*. But for English and the other West Germanic dialects, these appear as *v*, *d*, *g* (*w*, *g*), *r* from *z* by a substitution called rhotacism. Before citing further examples, a concise statement of Verner's law may be given as follows:

Except when in contact with voiceless consonants, or unless the early Teutonic accent inherited from Indo-European rested on the vowel next preceding, the Teutonic medial voiceless spirants f, th, h (hw), s (from Indo-European p, t, k (ku), s), became the corresponding voiced spirants v, th, g (gw), and z. Final s likewise became z.

The signs for the latter sounds were somewhat various. As there was no special sign for *v* in Old English, *f*, *b*, sometimes *ð*, were used, and for *th*, as in *the*, the signs *ð*, *þ*, *đ*, later *d*, were employed.

26. The regularity of initial consonants has been sufficiently illustrated by the examples of the first shift already given, and the cases of consonants in contact with other voiceless sounds will be understood from what has already been said of unshifted consonants, § 23. In other words, the same phonetic influence that prevented certain sounds from undergoing the first consonant shift, protected others from the operation of Verner's law. For example, *t* in *haft*, Lat. *captus*, and in *night* (OE. *niht*), Lat. *noct-em* protected *f* and *h* from the change explained by Verner. Similarly, *s* in the combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk* could undergo no change because of the protection of the following voiceless consonant. Other Teutonic combinations not affected by Verner's law are *fs*, *hs*, *ss*.



27. The essential part of Verner's law relates to changes due to lack of stress. These may be illustrated from some familiar words. It should be noted that the position of the Indo-European accent may be usually inferred from Greek, more exactly from Sanskrit accentuation. English *hard* is cognate with Greek κρατ-ύς, 'strong, mighty.' This first became by the great consonant shift **harth-ús* in early Teutonic, when *th*, not being protected by accent immediately before it, became voiced *th*, and later *d*. The same is true of *old*, which is cognate with Latin *altus*, and must have come from an Indo-European form **altós*. In *third*, Sanskrit *tṛtýa*, initial *th* from *t* illustrates the regular shift; the final *d* from a similar *t* is explained by the position of the Indo-European accent. For an example of *g* we may take *tug*, OE. *tugon*, compared with OE. *tēon* (**teuhon*). The change of *f* to *v* is shown in *seven*, OE. *seofon*, cognate with Latin *sep-tem*, and *evil*, *v* of which is cognate with *p* in Sanskrit *upári*, Greek ὑπέρ, the original meaning being 'going *over* or beyond bounds.' Interesting illustrations of Verner's law occur in our names of relationship, *father*, *mother*, *brother*. Apparently these words show regular correspondences to original forms, as shown by Latin *pater*, *mater*, *frater*. But the proper Old English forms were *fæder*, *mōder*, *brōðor*, which are not regular according to the first consonant change. The anomaly is explained by the position of the Indo-European accent preserved only in the Sanskrit *pitár*, *mātár*, *bhrātar*. The successive changes may be represented as far as the consonants are concerned by the following forms: early Teutonic *fathér*, *mothér*, *bróther*, then *faþér*, *moþér*, *bróther*, later Teutonic *fáder*, *móder*, *bróther* by change of accent.

28. The change from *s* to *z* under Verner's law may be illustrated from some present English words, if we remember that this early Teutonic *z* became *r* when medial in Old English by substitution, or rhotacism. In Old English there is a verb 'to lose' whose principal parts are *for-lēosan, for-lēas, for-luron, for-loren, r* replacing the *s* of the stem in the last two forms. The participial form with *r* from original *z* we still preserve in our adjective *forlorn*. So the verb *freeze* was OE. *frēosan, frēas, fruron, froren*, the last form of which shows the original of Milton's adjective *frore* meaning 'frozen.' The English word *hare*, compared with German *hase*, shows a similar *r*, the original position of the accent being indicated by the Sanskrit *çaçá* for **çasá*, 'hare.' A similar *r* is also found in our comparative ending *-er*, OE. *-ra*, from early Teutonic *-ōza*, the accent in this case being on the stem and not immediately before the original *s*.

29. It is worth noting that something has been made out as to the chronology of the great consonant shift. The old idea seems to have been, that the changes took place simultaneously in the separate groups into which the Indo-European family had split. But so great a change must have been the result of a long and gradual process. One limit is set for the change by the fact that the mutation did not affect Latin and Greek words borrowed through early contact with the Mediterranean nations, so that we may take the first century A.D. as the time by which the first consonant shift was fully accomplished. The beginning of the change is far more a matter of conjecture,

in the centuries immediately preceding the C

30. So much attention has been devot
cussion of the first consonant shift, not or
change is an essential characteristic of Te
cause attempts at conciser statements are of
or misleading in important particulars. Th
of this great sound law since its first f
shown that it is by no means so simp
supposed, and yet its essential features
tered without great difficulty. When so
give a broader and clearer view of the relatio
the other Indo-European languages, as well
ing test of the genealogies of words and t
etymologies.

The Teutonic Accent.

31. A second characteristic of Teutonic
with Indo-European and most of its desc
word-stress. In the Indo-European pare
accent was free; that is, it might rest on
word, and often did change in the same word

word for 'foot,' πούς, ποδός, πόδα, where the accent changes to the ending in the genitive and back again to the root in the accusative. This free accent was retained in the earliest Teutonic, as shown by the changes explained through Verner's law, § 24. But before the time of the earliest written Teutonic, the Gothic of the fourth century, the Indo-European free accent had been replaced by a fixed stress, resting regularly upon a particular syllable of the word. The law of the Teutonic accent is as follows: in general it rested on the root syllable of a word, but in nouns and adjectives, and in verbs derived from either, it rested on the first syllable of the word, whether root or prefix.

32. In one other respect did the Teutonic accent differ from that of the Indo-European. The latter was not only free, but a musical, or pitch accent primarily. The Teutonic on the other hand was an expiratory, or stress accent, with but slight variation of pitch. The importance of this fixed expiratory accent of Teutonic is not wholly in its characterizing the Teutonic languages, as distinct from the parent speech and some of its most important branches, but largely because of the phonetic changes words have undergone because of it. Owing to its position on the first syllable of a word in most cases, many important changes have taken place in the following unstressed syllables. For example, endings of all sorts have been shortened or altogether lost; unaccented vowels have been modified in quality or have suffered decay; so that, compared with the parent speech, or even with the classical languages, words have become materially shortened, and often only roots are recognizable.



The Twofold Adjective Declension.

33. A third peculiarity of the Teutonic languages in their earliest forms is a twofold declension of adjectives distinguishing a difference in use. In Teutonic, every adjective might be declined with two sets of endings, according to its use in certain syntactical relations in the sentence. Thus the strong form, as it was called by Grimm, was employed when the adjective was used in the predicate relation, or as an attributive without a preceding article. The adjective took the weak form when used as a substantive, or in the attributive relation after the article. The strong form corresponds in general to the adjective inflection in the cognate languages, while the weak form was developed in early Teutonic, and so may be regarded as a peculiarity of the languages belonging to this branch. This twofold declension has been lost in the later development of English, as in the West Germanic tongues, except High German, but it was still preserved in Old English.

The Verbal System.

34. A fourth characteristic of Teutonic relates to the verbal system. The most important peculiarity of the Teutonic verbal system is the formation and extension of preterits with a dental suffix, as in the case of all so-called weak, or regular verbs. This dental preterit, the *d* (*t*) or *ed* of English, began to be used in early Teutonic, and it has gradually extended itself until it is at present the commonest and most regular form. Less characteristic, although still important, are the preterits with vowel change, or gradation

§ 255, as in *sing, sang*, a peculiarity that was used for distinguishing the tenses in Teutonic as it was not in any other Indo-European language. In addition to these fundamental ones, there are some other important peculiarities of the Teutonic verbal system.

35. The classical languages and Sanskrit have elaborate tense and mode systems, and in this particular they more nearly represent the Indo-European. The Teutonic verbal system, on the contrary, is extremely simple, and there are few inflectional forms. For example, Teutonic had but two inflectional tenses, a present and a past, the first of which was used for all present and future, the second for all past time. The English language at present has, it is true, six tenses, corresponding to the six tenses of the Latin verb, but they are compound, not inflectional tenses, and are of late formation. Moreover Teutonic, though not devoid of it at first, soon lost almost wholly its inflected passive voice. Old English retained this passive in but one verb *hātan*, 'to call,' the meaning of which, though not its form, has been preserved in the poetic word *hight*, 'called, or was called.' For example, compare this line from Surrey: —

"Bright was her hue, and Geraldine she *hight*,"

where 'was called' will give the meaning. The place of this old inflected passive has been supplied in the Teutonic languages by a compound passive using auxiliaries. There is one other point in the verbal system. While we now have some remnant of an inflected subjunctive, and an optative, or potential, made up by the use of auxiliary verbs, the Teutonic had originally one mode for these two, a sub-



junctive-optative, with inflectional forms for both tenses. Thus the Teutonic verbal system differs in several respects from those of the other Indo-European languages.

36. Certain other peculiarities of Teutonic might be mentioned, but a discussion of them belongs to the details of philology and would be out of place here. The characteristics so far discussed belong to all members of the-group, and they may be illustrated from the historical periods of any Teutonic speech. A full discussion of Teutonic should include also the differences between West Germanic on the one side, and Gothic and Norse on the other. But these differences, while marked, are in the details of inflection and belong especially to the older periods of the languages. The distinction between High and Low German is more important, and merits some attention here.

High German.

37. The division of West Germanic into two branches mentioned before is owing to certain consonantal differences which separate High German from all Low German tongues. Thus for our English *to* the German says *zu*; for *sit*, *sitzen*; for *sleep*, *schlafen*; for *pepper*, *Pfeffer*. Other examples are, German *Tochter*, for English *daughter*; *du* and *dein* for *thou* and *thine*; besides many others familiar to every one who has even a slight acquaintance with German. These differences are due to a second consonant shift which affected the High German dialects alone, thus separating them from all others of the West Germanic group. This second shift differs from the first also in having taken place wholly in historic times. It

may be described in general as a great tide of consonant change which, beginning in the fifth century, swept from the highlands of South Germany, the headwaters of the Rhine, northward and eastward with constantly diminishing force, until it ceased altogether in the eighth century.

38. THE SECOND CONSONANT SHIFT. — The second consonant shift affected fewer sounds than the first, and not all parts of Germany were equally influenced by the change. The spoken dialects which were most altered may be divided into three groups: those of the north, the midland, and the south. The north German dialect shows the least influence of the second shift, only one consonant, *th*, corresponding to English *th*, having become *d*. The speech of south Germany shows the greatest change, the gutturals and labials being considerably more affected than in the midland or the north. From the midland has sprung the literary language, or *Schriftsprache*, used by educated persons in composition and in conversation, their pronunciation however being often strongly dialectal. It is with the relation of English to this literary language that we have to do.

39. Without giving the minutiæ of the second, or High German consonant shift, the correspondence of English and High German may be shown with sufficient completeness for our purpose as follows: —

I. LABIAL SERIES. — English *b* = Ger. *b* (*p*): *book, Buch; born, ge-boren;* OE. *sibb* (Eng. *gos-sip*), *Sippe.* Eng. *p* = Ger. *pf, f*: *path, Pfad; stop, stopfen; sharp, scharf; help, helfen.* Eng. *f, v* = Ger. *f, b*, respectively: *wolf, wolf; find, finden; over, ober; raven, Rabe.*



II. DENTAL SERIES. — English *d* = Ger. *t*: *day, Tag; dead, tot* (*todt*). English *t* = Ger. *z, tz* (*s*): *tongue, Zunge; swart, schwarz; sit, sitzen; that, das.* English *th* = Ger. *d*: *thing, Ding; that, das; earth, Erde.*

III. VELAR, or GUTTURAL SERIES. — English *g* = Ger. *g* (*k*): *garden, Garten; gold, Gold; bridge,* OE. *brycg, Brücke.* English *k* = Ger. *k, ch*: *knee, Knie; stroke, Streich; yoke, Yoch.* Eng. *h* = Ger. *h*: *hand, Hand; house, Haus.*

From these examples it may be seen that, as far as the midland dialect is concerned, the High German consonant shift was carried out consistently only with the dental series. Of the labials *p* was regularly shifted, together with *v*, the voiced consonant corresponding to *f*. None of the gutturals show complete shifting in all positions of the word.

40. Other characteristics of High German, as distinct from Low German, are not so marked, and some of them are seen only in the older forms of the language. One peculiarity deserves special mention. The Low German languages show a tendency to uniformity or levelling of inflections, while High German is far more conservative, preserving to a greater extent the older forms. In this tendency to uniformity, English has been one of the most radical of the Low German tongues, having almost wholly given up its inflections. High German, on the other hand, has several forms of inflection for nouns, the Teutonic double inflection for adjectives, and many other forms not found in Low German dialects.

41. Within the Low German group Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, is pre-eminently important, since it preserves a greater body of literature than any of the others, and an older stage of the language in its manuscripts. It is therefore one of the most important languages to the student of Teutonic philology, while it is essential to an understanding of present English in its historical relations. The Low German dialect with which Old English is nearest akin is Old Frisian, originally spoken in a large part of northwest Germany, but now almost wholly confined to a few islands along the coast. With this, Old English has much of similarity in forms, so that it is now not unusual to set up a common ancestor for these two, a theoretic Anglo-Frisian. At any rate, Old English and Old Frisian, because of great similarity in forms, may be classed under the general title of the Anglo-Frisian group.

42. So much has been said of the relationships of English, because in spite of large additions to its vocabulary from many sources it is still, in essential characteristics, a Teutonic speech. Notwithstanding the large additions to its vocabulary from the Norman French after the conquest, English was not then, nor is it now, a Romance language. It has retained, through all the influences under which it has come, a groundwork of Teutonic words and forms that have continued to give it character. Its real affiliations are, therefore, with Teutonic, and not with the classical or Romance languages. The full meaning of this, and the extent to which it is true, will be seen from the following chapters.



II.

THE STANDARD LANGUAGE AND THE DIALECTS.

CHAPTER III.

THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD.

43. We know little of early Britain and of its settlement by our Teutonic ancestors. We do know that it passed through many vicissitudes in the first five centuries of our era, the details of which must remain largely a matter of conjecture, since the authentic records of the time are few. The earliest inhabitants of Britain in historic times were the Celts, of the same race as their neighbours in Gaul on the one side, and in Ireland on the other. These, Cæsar found in the two invasions of which he has given us some account in his *Commentaries*. Yet it can hardly be said that the conquest of Britain was begun when Cæsar set foot on the island in 55 and 54 B.C., since no permanent settlement was made. Moreover, for nearly a century thereafter Rome made no attempt to extend her possessions in that direction. But in 42 A.D. the Emperor Claudius again undertook to subdue the Britons, and his efforts, with those of his successors extending nearly to the close of the century, completed the conquest as far north as the Forth.

44. After Britain became a province of the Roman empire, the conquerors built roads and fortified towns, worked the mines of Cornwall, Somerset, and Northumberland, and carried on commerce in its ports. The larger cities were supplied with public buildings of a Roman civilization, — the baths, the theatre, the temples, while the country, especially in the south and west, shows the remains of many Roman villas and homesteads. But notwithstanding the conquest, it is probable that the majority of the Celts were only slightly affected by Roman civilization. With the exception of those in the cities, mainly serfs of the Roman soldiers and merchants, the Celtic population seems not to have acquired the Roman language or adopted Roman culture. At least we find scarcely a trace of such influence on the Celtic language, and if the influence had been considerable, the traces of it could hardly have been wholly obliterated.

45. The Romans withdrew their last legion from Britain in 411 A.D. For some time before, the gradual disintegration of the empire had necessitated neglecting the outposts, and Britain as the farthest province to the west had been the first to suffer. Gradually commerce had been abandoned as the necessary military protection was withdrawn, and the towns and villas went back to Celtic barbarism. In 407 the Roman general Constantine crossed over to the continent with the larger part of the Roman soldiery, leaving Britain to its own defence. An appeal to the emperor to replace their defenders was of no avail, and in 410 a letter from Honorius bade the



Britons set up their own government, and defend themselves as best they could.

46. The independence of Britain was of short duration. The Irish were harrying her western shores, the Picts from the north were making constant forays southward, and with them the Britons were waging an unequal struggle. Finding themselves hard pressed, they decided about the middle of the fifth century to ask succour from the Saxons of north Germany. Long before the Roman evacuation the Saxons had begun to make raids on Britain,[1] such forays as they had made on the coast of Gaul as early as the close of the third century. It was to withstand these attacks that the coast from the Wash to Southampton was placed under a special Roman officer called the Count of the Saxon Shore, whose duty it was with the legion under his command to repel the invasions of the Saxon pirates. Only in this way during Roman rule were these hardy sea-rovers kept from a lodgment on British soil.

47. The most that we know of the Teutonic settlement of Britain rests upon the statements of the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, for in spite of the researches of historians little else is to be obtained. It was in 449, Bede tells us, that the Angles and Saxons were called in by the British king Wyrtgeorn, or Vortigern, and they settled the same year on the east side of the island. After repulsing the enemies of the Britons, they sent home messengers telling of the fertility of the island and the cowardice of its inhabitants. This message at once brought a larger

[1] Green, *The Making of England.* Introduction.

fleet and a stronger band of warriors, and these were followed by others year after year, until the Teutonic conquest was completed; for those called to aid against the Picts and Scots soon became more formidable than native foes.

48. Bede's statement in regard to the origin and settlement of the Saxons is as follows: —

"The newcomers were of the three strongest races of Germany, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Of Jutish origin are the men of Kent and the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is from the land called Old Saxon, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. And from Angeln came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and the whole race of the Northumbrians."[1]

Bede also tells us that the home of the Angles was between that of the Jutes and the Saxons in the portion of north Germany now called Schleswig-Angeln. Apart from this the only certain fact is that all these people by evidences of language were Low Germans, and this points out the lowlands of north Germany as their original home.

49. The Saxon Chronicle, though written later than Bede, gives the dates for the settlement and founding of the various kingdoms. The Jutes, under Hengest and Horsa, settled Kent in 449. In 477 Ella came to Britain, and in 491 founded the kingdom of the South Saxons, or Sussex. Cerdic came in 495, and in 519 founded Wessex, the kingdom of the West Saxons. These were all Saxon or Jutic settlements. The Angles settled the north and east of

[1] Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.* Book I, Chap. 15.

England, the largest of their kingdoms being Northumbria, in which the monarchy was established under Ida in 547. Many other traditions have been handed down, but it is impossible to test their truth. Kluge, in his History of the English Speech,[1] sums up the whole as it relates to settlement in these words: "The Jutes settled Kent, the Isle of Wight, and the neighbouring part of Hampshire. The Saxons occupied the banks of the Thames and the remaining portion of England southward. The rest of England was possessed by the Angles."

Early Names.

50. The earliest name applied to Britain was *Albion*, first used in a treatise respecting the world formerly ascribed to Aristotle. Pliny the Elder also used this name in his Natural History. The Romans called the island *Britannia*, and the people *Britanni*, presumably the same as the Greek Βρεττανοί. This is thought to be a Celtic word allied to Welsh *brethyn*, Irish *bratt*, 'a cloth, cloak.' The Celts themselves do not seem to have had a general name for the island. The name Britain was not used after the Old English period until about the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, when it was revived in connection with the union of England and Scotland. James I was the earliest English monarch to be styled King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

[1] Geschichte der englischen Sprache in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, I, 782.

51. The Teutonic peoples of Britain in the earliest times were distinguished by various terms, according to their origin. Later the terms Angle and English were generally adopted. For example, the Kentish king Æthelbert called himself and his people Angles, and Pope Gregory so designated the whole people. From very early times, also, the language of our forefathers was called English, a name arising in Anglia where literature was first cultivated, but later used by all the Teutonic peoples in Britain. The preface to the Saxon Chronicle, although written on West Saxon soil, speaks of the five languages of Britain as "English, British, Scotch, Pictish, and Latin." The Saxons in the time of their literary supremacy used this name, both King Alfred speaking of the language as English and the priest Ælfric a century later. The original of the term Anglo-Saxon, *Angli Saxones*, was first used by Latin writers, to distinguish the English Saxons collectively from the Old Saxons of the continent. The term was not revived until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Holland used it in his translation of Camden, after which it was first applied to the language.[1] But the early use of the name English, as well as the fact that our language is the direct descendant of that spoken in the time of Alfred and Ælfric, seems to warrant its use for all periods of the speech. The form of the name was first *Englisc*, from *Angle* + *isc*, the change from *a* to *e* being regularly caused by mutation, § 246, and *-isc* being the original of our common ending *-ish*. For the change of *e* to *i* in pronunciation, see § 225.

[1] See the *New English Dictionary* on *Anglo-Saxon*.

Divisions of Language History.

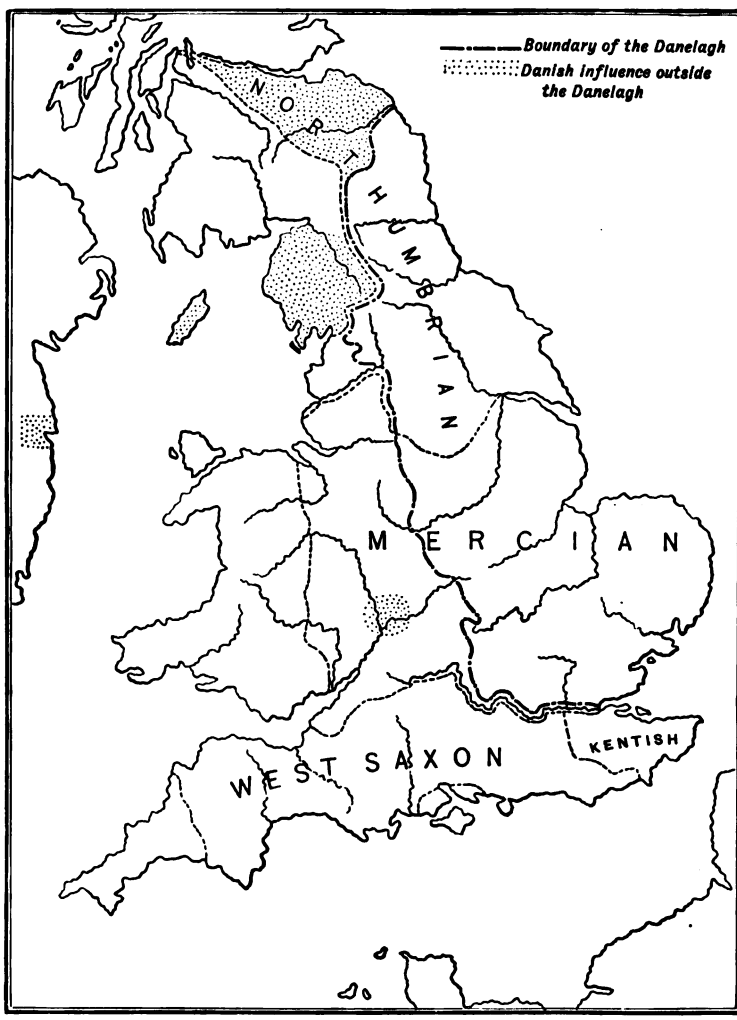
52. English is now divided, both in its literature and its speech history, into three grand divisions, Old, Middle, and Modern English. The Old English period extends from the earliest times to the year 1100; Middle English from 1100 to 1500; Modern English, when the language began to be established in its present form, from 1500 to the present time. These periods are still so long that each of them may be again divided. Especially is this true of Middle English, since the language was at that time undergoing very considerable changes. When this period is subdivided, two transition periods are made, one at the beginning from 1100 to 1200, and one at the end from 1400 to 1500. In Modern English, the seventeenth century may be set apart as one in which considerable changes were taking place, and therefore in some respects the most important of our modern language history. But in regard to all divisions of language history into periods, it must be remembered that changes in sounds and inflections are always very gradual, so that no sharp dividing lines can be drawn. Those periods only are more distinctly marked in which changes are greatly accelerated. For practical purposes, however, the three divisions first noted are sufficient.

Dialects of Old English.

53. As the Teutonic settlers in Britain represented different tribes, their language represented dialects more or less diverse. While the different tribes could no doubt

understand each other, there was no common tongue, and no common written language. When these tribes became established in Britain, and through Old English times, there were four distinct speech divisions. These were the Northumbrian, extending from the Humber to the Forth; the Mercian, extending from the Thames northward; the West Saxon, occupying the whole district south of the Thames, with the exception of Kent and perhaps Surrey; the Kentish in Kent and Surrey, the dialect of which is like that of Kent. There were also in Norfolk and Suffolk the East-Anglian dialects, but of them little is known. The Northumbrian and Mercian dialects both represent the Anglian peoples, and for this reason are classed together as the Anglian, or Northern group. Kentish represents the language of the Jutes, and West Saxon that of the Saxons; together they form the Southern group. The geographical relations of these various dialects may be seen from the outline map on the following page.

54. The oldest remains of these dialects are interesting, although they hardly belong to literature. The earliest dated manuscript in which English words occur is a Kentish charter of 679. The oldest West Saxon manuscript is a charter of 778. The first dialect to produce a literature, and so gain a literary ascendency, was the Northumbrian, or Anglian, as it is sometimes called. In this dialect a rich body of Old English poetry was produced in the last of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries. To this region Cædmon and Cynewulf and Bede belonged, and here *Beowulf*, the great epic of Old English times, was



England in the 10th Century Showing English Dialects.

composed. This literary ascendency is no doubt closely connected with that vigour and prowess of the Northumbrians which gained for them the overlordship of England in the seventh century. But before the end of the seventh century the Northumbrian kingdom was overthrown and, although literature continued to be produced in the north of England, the language did not long retain its pre-eminence. From the death of Bede in 734 to the reign of Alfred in 871, none of the Old English dialects can be said to have established a supremacy over the others, although there are evidences of Kentish and West Saxon writings in the eighth century. But with Ecgberht, who reigned from 802 to 839, began the rise of the West Saxon kingdom ; and with Alfred the Great, whose reign extended from 871 to 901, was completed the ascendency of the West Saxon dialect, which was to remain the standard language of England until the overthrow of Wessex by the Danes. In Alfred's time, and largely under his inspiration, occurred a great literary revival, in which a considerable body of prose was produced, while the older Northumbrian poetry was transferred to the West Saxon form of speech. Alfred himself translated the *Cura Pastoralis* or *Pastoral Care* of Pope Gregory, the *Chronicle* of Orosius, and the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, while the translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede has been, though perhaps wrongly, attributed to him. After Alfred's death literature suffered a decline in Wessex, although West Saxon remained the standard language of England; but a second literary revival occurred in the last of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. The literature of the period



is represented mainly by sermons and religious writings. Most important are the *Blickling Homilies*, the *Homilies* of Ælfric and Wulfstan, and Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* and *Grammar of the Latin Language*.

55. Owing to the fact that West Saxon was the standard language of England during the overlordship of Wessex, the other dialects are represented only by meagre remains. It has been already noted that we have the older Northumbrian poetry only in a West Saxon dress. Besides, Northumbrian is represented by a few runic inscriptions of early date, by the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, or *Durham Book*, and the *Durham Ritual*. These belong to the last half of the tenth century. The Mercian dialect is represented by an interlinear version of the *Psalter* belonging to the ninth century, and a gloss of *Matthew*, part of the *Rushworth Gospels*, belonging to the last of the tenth century. The remains of Kentish are the very ancient *Epinal* and *Erfurt Glosses* (not pure Kentish), a metrical version of the *Fiftieth Psalm*, and numerous charters.

56. It is difficult to characterize these old English dialects in any but the most general way. The more striking differences belong to the sounds of the language, but of these no complete description can here be given. The most marked feature in the sounds of Southern English, West Saxon and Kentish, is the tendency to palatalization, or the substitution of palatal for guttural consonants and vowels. This tendency is also shared to a considerable extent by Mercian. Examples are such words as have our modern *ch* where northern words have a *k* sound, as

church, beside *kirk*; *chaff*, *churl*, *chalk*, beside Scotch *caff*, *carl*, *cauk*. We may also instance the *ch* of *Chester*, *Winchester*, beside the *k* sound of *Doncaster*, *Tadcaster*. Among vowels may be noted the characteristic short *a* sound, as in *man*, *hat*, beside the more guttural *a*, *ea*, of the Northumbrian. On the other hand, West Saxon and Kentish are more conservative in regard to inflectional forms, Northumbrian being least conservative, and Mercian in this respect leaning rather to Northumbrian than to Southern English. All Old English dialects, however, show the tendency toward simplification of inflectional forms which has characterized the Teutonic and especially the Low German languages from the beginning. Moreover, this tendency was especially strong during the last of the Old English period.

57. The literary ascendency of West Saxon ended with the fall of the West Saxon kingdom. This was due to the conquest of England by the Danes. The Danes had made inroads as early as the ninth century; but while they were sometimes victorious in this early time, and made many settlements in Britain, the conquest was not completed until 1016, when a Danish king was seated on the English throne. The temporary restoration of the English kingdom under Edward the Confessor in 1042 did little to re-establish the English language, since Edward was Norman by birth and education. Moreover, this English restoration was closely followed by another conquest of far-reaching importance, that by which William of Normandy became William I of England in 1066. The Old English period

south, in the midland, or in the north.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

58. We have seen how the overthrow of the West Saxon kingdom left England without a standard language. All dialects were again upon an almost equal footing. It is true that Southern English continued to be written to the time of Chaucer, but side by side Midland, as the older Mercian is called in the Middle English period, was rising to even greater prominence, while from about 1200 there is also an important literature in Northern English. In addition to this, owing to the Norman conquest, an Anglo-French literature sprang up on English soil. Latin also, which was the common language of scholars throughout Europe in medieval times, continued to be written and read. That English should for a time have no standard representative in the Middle English period is not strange, since this was true of it also in the Old English period. But that English should remain dialectal in character for two and a half centuries is wholly remarkable. The explanation of this singular phenomenon is to be found in the fact of the conquest and its influence upon our language history. This important event, therefore, merits a full and careful discussion. We must first, however, say something of the Middle English dialects to the time of Chaucer, or the middle of the four-



teenth century, when English, or one variety of it, again became the literary language of England.

Dialects of Middle English.

59. The dialects of Middle English are natural developments of those existing in Old English times, though known to us under somewhat different names. Instead of Northumbrian, Northern is used in the Middle English period; similarly Midland takes the place of Mercian; and Southern is used for the older West Saxon. Kentish retains its name, although it is sometimes included in the more general term Southern English. The texts for these dialects, especially for Southern and Midland, are numerous, since the literature of the Middle English period is extensive, so that no attempt will be made to mention more than a few typical examples. For the Southern dialect there are the *Lives of St. Katherine* and *St. Juliana*, the *Ancren Riwle* or *Rule of Nuns*, and Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*. Kentish is represented by the *Kentish Sermons* and the *Ayenbite of Inwit* or 'Prick of Conscience.' Some representative texts of the Midland dialect, which is especially important to the student of modern English, are the *Ormulum*, or book of Orm, a particularly important text for Middle English; the *Bestiary*, *Genesis and Exodus*, Layamon's *Brut* (the later text), *Piers Plowman*, the *Alliterative Poems* of an unknown poet, and Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*. The Northern dialect is represented by a *Metrical Psalter*, the *Cursor Mundi*, a verse history of the world, the *Metrical Homilies*, the *Prick of Conscience*, and

the *Towneley Mysteries*.[1] The boundaries of these Middle English dialects do not differ materially from those of Old English times, for which see map on page 46.

The Fusion of French and English.

60. We must now consider the relation of English to the conquerors during the Middle English period. And first, about the Norman period, as it is called, there have been many misconceptions and many misstatements. These all rest on an exaggerated estimate of the importance to be attached to the Norman French element in English, as well as upon an erroneous idea of what would have happened to the English speech had there been no conquest by the Normans. The discussion of the French influence on vocabulary, sounds, and inflections will come under the special discussion of those subjects. But in general it will be found that, as the foundations of our government and laws rest on early English rather than on French originals, so the foundations of our language in spite of the conquest and of later French influence are not Romance, but Teutonic and English. This will become clearer as we examine the relation of the races during the Norman period.

61. In the first place, it must be remembered that the French influence did not begin with the conquest as is ordinarily assumed, but with the preceding English king, Edward the Confessor. It was in 1002 that the English

[1] For selections from most of these see *Specimens of Early English* by Morris and Skeat, Parts I and II.



king Æthelred, wishing to form an alliance with the Duke of Normandy, took Emma his daughter to wife. The fruit of their marriage was Edward, the last English king before the Conqueror. He was himself educated in France, and it is not strange, therefore, that when he came to the throne in 1042 he should surround himself with French nobles whom he placed in positions of honour, and French priests to whom he gave many English bishoprics. So far did Edward carry his favouritism, that in 1051 he promoted the Norman Robert from the Bishopric of London to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, the highest position in the English church. It is true that these acts of favouritism were resented by the English people, and a revolution in 1052 resulted in the expulsion and outlawry of all Norman prelates. But the Norman French influence had begun. Edward and his favourites spoke French, and it is not improbable that some words appearing in the written documents of a later time now first entered the spoken language.

62. One other common misconception must be guarded against. It is customary to speak of the French element in Middle English as due wholly to the conquest, and therefore wholly Norman French in origin. This is, however, far from the true state of the case. The separation from Normandy in 1204 closed the period of direct contact and direct Norman influence. Moreover, the accession of Henry of Anjou in 1154 probably brought to Englishmen some knowledge of another French dialect, the Angevin. While even before the loss of Normandy, Parisian French began to exert its influence, both through literature, and through

English scholars who studied in Paris under such men as Abelard, and returned to lecture at Oxford, or fill high positions in the church. The result of this was that, all through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even later, English was being influenced directly by Parisian French rather than by the Norman dialect.

63. Mistaken conceptions as to the influence of the Norman conquest on the English language are largely due to erroneous ideas of the relations existing between the two peoples during the so-called Norman period. It has already been pointed out, that the affairs of England and Normandy were becoming mixed as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, when Emma of Normandy became the wife of Æthelred of England. When William the Norman came, it was to no ordinary subjugation of a hostile people. The Norman Duke claimed the throne of England on a promise which, he asserted, the good Edward had made and the usurper Harold had confirmed. Moreover, it was one great feature of the Conqueror's policy to disturb existing laws and customs as little as possible. After the battle of Hastings he presented himself before the Witenagemote for election to the kingship, he took the coronation oath of Æthelred, and he made no division of the land except as unredeemed conquest.[1] He retained popular legal institutions and confirmed Edward's laws. Indeed, his own revised code was little more than the body of English laws already in force. Again, the actual number of the Normans coming in at the conquest has been greatly

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, pp. 258, 259.



exaggerated in popular estimation. In reality they were comparatively few in numbers, the frequency of Norman names being largely due to the later fashion of translating English names, or adopting those of Norman origin.[1] Finally, many Normans came long after the conquest was a thing of the past when England and Normandy were united as parts of one great empire.

64. All these facts point to a speedy fusion of Normans and English, and there are many evidences that this took place. The struggles of William's sons for the throne helped materially to bring about the union. Both William Rufus and Henry I appealed to Englishmen for support of their claims against the Norman Robert and the barons who adhered to him, and it was to Englishmen that they were indebted for their crowns. Henry himself (1100–1135) recognized this obligation in the charter which he gave, while he delighted his English subjects and incidentally gave proof of the growing fusion of the two races by marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and direct descendant of Æthelred II. It is clear that the English themselves recognized Henry as a true Englishman from their affectionately calling his ill-fated son William "the Ætheling," their own name for the heir apparent. Walter Map, who died in 1210, tells us explicitly that the reign of Henry put an end to the distinction between Norman and Englishman. After mentioning the dissensions of the former reign, he says: "But this Henry of whom we write, both by making marriages

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, Appendix XX.

between them, and by every other means in his power, united the two peoples in firm concord."[1] So complete was the fusion of the two races that, one hundred years after the conquest, it was impossible to distinguish Norman from Englishman. The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, writing in Henry II's reign (1154–1189), says: "Already the English and Normans, dwelling together and intermarrying, are so mixed that among freemen at least it can scarcely be determined to-day who is of English, or who of Norman birth."[2]

65. Even if the direct Norman influence continued after the reign of Henry I, it was soon to cease by reason of an event which forever separated Normandy and England. In 1204, less than a century and a half after the conquest, Normandy was lost through the incapacity of King John. By this not only were the interests of the Normans transferred wholly to England, but there followed hard upon it another political move that tended further to separate the two countries. In 1244 Louis IX of France summoned the English nobles to relinquish their possessions in England, or give up all claim to those in France. In retaliation for this the English king, Henry III, ordered all Frenchmen, especially Normans, who held possessions in England, to be deprived of their property. This at least precluded any further Norman influence from without. Indeed, taking all these facts together, the conclusions seem natural that the fusion of the two races began as early as

[1] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (Camden Society), p. 209.
[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 193; *Constitutional History*, I, p. 546.



the beginning of the twelfth century, when Henry I came to the throne, that a century after the conquest the fusion was complete, and that direct Norman influence certainly came to an end with the loss of Normandy at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Spoken Language.

66. The preceding consideration of the Norman period has left the language itself wholly out of account. An attempt has been made to show how early the Normans became Englishmen, and not as yet how soon the language of England began to regain the ascendency. But it is with the language itself that our special interest lies. And here again it is clear that there has been much misunderstanding of the facts, largely due to mistaken interpretations of the scattered notices in regard to language during the Middle English period. We shall get some truer notions of our language history in this interesting time, if we consider somewhat in detail the relations of spoken English during the Norman period, as well as the later rise of the literary language.

67. It has been sometimes asserted that William the Conqueror and his successors made an attempt to supplant English with French as the spoken language of England. But "Of all the dreams," says Freeman, "that have affected the history of the times on which we are engaged, none has led to more error than the notion that William the Conqueror set to work with a fixed purpose to root out the use of the

English tongue."[1] It was natural that William and his retainers should continue to use French, but William was far too wise a statesman to antagonize in this particular the subjects of his newly acquired realm. In fact, it must not be supposed for a moment that English did not remain the spoken language of the people of England. Nor are we to suppose that the courtiers, the prelates, and the Norman nobility held to their own language exclusively, but rather that there was much the same tendency to give up their speech which their Norse ancestors had shown when they settled upon French soil. It is even asserted on excellent authority[2] that William himself, at the age of forty-three, tried to acquire the English tongue; and there is little doubt that he could at least understand the speech of his new subjects.

68. When we come to William's successors there is similar evidence as to the use of English. It seems reasonable to suppose, from what we know, that William's son Henry I (1100–1135)— Henry Beauclerc as he was called — had been taught the English tongue in childhood.[3] The chronicler Giraldus Cambrensis, who himself understood English well, is authority for the statement that Henry II (1154–1189) understood, although he did not speak, English. "There is distinct evidence," says Freeman, "that in the days of Henry II, men of high rank and Norman birth could freely speak, or understand English, though of course this does not exclude their speaking French also."[4] Thomas á Becket was

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, p. 506.
[2] Ordericus Vitalis (Duchesne), 520 D.
[3] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, IV. Appendix EE. [4] *Ibid.*



born in London of Norman parents, yet his mother spoke English to the murderers of her son, — good evidence apparently that Thomas himself understood the language. Bishop Foliot, a Norman colleague of Thomas in his struggle with Henry II, also understood English.[1] In the reign of Henry's son, Richard I (1189–1199), Bishop Hugh of Coventry, a Norman by birth, blamed severely the Bishop of Ely also of Norman birth because he could speak no English.[2] In the same generation, Abbot Samson of St. Edmund's regarded it as praiseworthy in a churl whom he raised to the position of lord farmer, that he could speak no French.[3] In the century in which John lost Normandy, the Bishop of York was bold enough to refuse benefices to those recommended by the Pope, on the ground that they did not know English,[4] while in the political troubles of 1263 those nobles who did not understand the native tongue were held in no esteem by the common people.[5]

69. There are also, in this early time, incidental references to the decadence of French as a spoken language. In the reign of Henry II, an English knight sent over to Normandy for some one to teach his son French, clearly indicating that the tongue of the Norman had lost its earlier purity and was coming to be regarded as antiquated. Walter Map, who lived during the last of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, also tells us that

[1] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (Camden Society), p. 19.
[2] Roger Hoveden, *Historia*, III, p. 146.
[3] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, p. 527.
[4] Matthew of Paris, Vol. III, p. 282 (Bohn).
[5] Matthew of Westminster, Vol. II, p. 406 (Bohn).

the French in England was regarded as old-fashioned and dialectal.[1] Conclusive proof of the degeneracy of Anglo-Norman is also found in its written form. Finally, the reference of Chaucer to the dialectal character of the French spoken by the Prioress, is well known to all (Prologue, 124–6).

> "And Frensh she spak ful faire and fetisly,
> After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> For Frensh of Paris was to hire unknowe."

All these are indirect but pointed proofs of the growing influence of English even among the descendants of the conquerors.

70. Another evidence of the gain by the native tongue, is the sensitiveness of the chronicler to the seemingly anomalous condition of things. The earliest historian to reflect upon the relations of the two languages is Robert of Gloucester, whose *Chronicle* was written about 1300. In it are these lines which have often been quoted: —

" Þus com lo Engelond in to Normandies hond;
And the Normans ne couþe speke þo bote hor owe speche,
And speke French as hii dude atom and hor children dude also teche,
So þat heiemen of þis lond þat of hor blod come
Holdeþ alle þulke speeche þat hii of hom nome;
Vor bote a man conne Frenss me telþ of him lute;
Ac lowe men holdeþ to Engliss and to hor owe speche gute.
Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world contreyes none
Þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche bote Engelond one.
Ac wel me wot vor to conne boþe wel it is
Vor þe more þat a man can þe more wurþe he is."[2]

[1] *De Nugis Curialium* (Camden Society), p. 236.

[2] "Lo, thus came England into Normandy's hand; and the Normans could not speak aught but their own speech, and spake French as they did at home and did so teach their children; so that high-men of this land



These lines may easily be misinterpreted, especially if we take only the first six as is often done. But the whole passage, read in the light of contemporaneous facts, seems rather a good-natured rallying by the author of those who affected the use of French for politic reasons, than serious complaint of a tongue that had supplanted his own. While the chronicler notes the anomalous circumstance, — the use by Englishmen of another than their native tongue, — it is clear there is no hatred of French as the language of the conquerors.

71. References to the use of English by later kings are not wanting. Edward I (1272–1307) used English familiarly, unless it is wrong to infer this from his speaking it to the Turkish ambassadors at his court. More significant still, as to the favour in which English was held by the people, is the attempt of the same Edward to incite enmity against the French by saying in his summons to Parliament, that the king of France "planned, if his ability should correspond with his iniquitous purpose (which God prevent), to destroy the English language wholly from the earth."[1] The third Edward (1327–1377) both spoke English and was addressed in it, if we trust the implication of certain passages in Froissart.[2] It was this Edward also who, in 1362,

that came of their blood hold the same speech that they received of them; for except a man knows French men speak of him little; but low-men hold to English and to their own good speech. I ween that there are in all the world no countries that do not hold to their own speech except England alone. But well men know it is well for to know both, for the more that a man knows the more worth he is." — Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, l. 7537–7547. Rolls Series, p. 543, 544.

[1] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 474.

[2] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, IV, Appendix EE.

as in the following years, opened Parliament by declaring in English the causes of the summons, — the earliest recorded instance of the use of English in Parliamentary proceedings.[1] Again in the same year, on petition of the Commons, Edward III established by statute that pleadings in the law courts should be in English, not in French.[2] Under the Henrys, IV and V (1399–1422), the English speech was frequently used by state dignitaries,[3] while Henry IV himself, the first of the house of Lancaster, made his challenge of the crown and said his thanks for the allowance of his title in English, his mother tongue as we are expressly told in the Parliamentary Rolls.[4] It is possible this was so recorded only because Henry did not know French. Finally, Henry V was represented in a negotiation with France by ambassadors who could neither speak nor understand French and would sign no documents not drawn up in Latin. This seems to mark the entire abandonment of French by the court, while it may reasonably be inferred that English had long been the speech of common use even in the highest circles.

72. Reference has already been made to the use of English in courts of law. How long French had been used in legal proceedings is not known. There is a story that William the Conqueror had forbidden the use of the native tongue in the courts of law, but this is regarded by historians as a

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, III, p. 268.
[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 375, 376.
[3] Morsbach, *Der Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache*, p. 2.
[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, III, p. 422.



fabrication.[1] The popular courts after William's time continued to transact business in English. At some time, however, under the successors of William the language of the courts became French. Yet it will still seem remarkable that French could have continued to be used until the middle of the fourteenth century, unless we take into account the conservatism of the law and the great difficulty in changing long established legal customs. As we have seen, the change did not finally come about until the Commons had urgently petitioned against the use of the foreign tongue. The statute of Edward III, establishing the use of English in the courts, deserves to be quoted in full.

"Because it is often showed to the king by the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and all the commonalty, of the great mischiefs which have happened to divers of the realm, because the laws, customs, and statutes of this realm be not commonly known in the same realm, for that they be pleaded, showed, and judged in the French tongue which is much unknown in the said realm: so that the people who do implead or be impleaded in the king's court, and in the courts of others, have no knowledge nor understanding of that which is said for them or against them by their sergeants and other pleaders; and that reasonably the said laws and customs shall be the more soon learned and known and better understood in the tongue used in the said realm, and by so much every man of the said realm may the better govern himself without offending of the law, and the better keep, save, and defend his heritage and possessions; and in divers regions and countries where the king, the nobles, and other of the said realm have been, good governance and full right is done to every person, because that their laws and customs be learned and used in the tongue of the country: the king, desiring the good governance and tranquillity of his people, and to put out and eschew the harms and mischiefs, which do or may happen in this behalf by the occasions aforesaid, hath ordained and established by the assent aforesaid, *that all pleas which shall be pleaded in his courts what-*

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I, p. 442.

soever, before any of his justices whatsoever, or in his other places or before any of his ministers whatsoever, or in the courts and places of any other lords whatsoever within the realm, shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and that they be entered and enrolled in Latin; and that the laws and customs of the same realm, terms, and processes, be holden and kept as they be and have been before this time; and that by the ancient terms and forms of the declarations no man be prejudiced, so that the matter of the action be fully showed in the declaration and in the writ: and it is accorded by the assent aforesaid, that this ordinance and statute of pleading begin and hold place at the fifteenth of St. Hilary next coming."[1]

We could have no more significant indication than this of the virtual victory of spoken English. Nor is this victory at all prejudiced by the fact that the statute itself is recorded in French, which was at that time the language of official documents.

73. One other important fact relates to the use of English in the schools. We know little of the growth of elementary schools in England and none too much of the universities. Certain it is, however, that there were grammar schools in England during this period, although doubtless mainly for gentlemen's children. The new impulse to classical learning had been given by the crusades. But the great revival of education in England was due to the founding of the universities, especially of the University of Paris in the twelfth century. Here gathered scholars from all nations in thousands, the English being by no means behind their continental brethren. It was no doubt due to this later French influence on learning, rather than to the Norman conquest in any sense, that French was used in the schools beside

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 375, 376.



Latin, the language of scholasticism. It was thus in no sense forced upon the schools by the tyranny of the conquerors, but was adopted naturally as the language with which scholars became familiar in their residence at the University of Paris. The statutes of Oriel College tell us that Oxford scholars were required to speak French or Latin[1] — Latin the language of learning, and French the fashion of polite society. But a change in this respect took place in the fourteenth century.

74. Ralph Higden, whose *Polychronicon* was written in 1352, was the first to complain of the use of French in the schools. His own statement as to the "impairing" of the "country language" may be given in the words of the English translator, John Trevisa: —

"This impairing of the birth tongue is because of two things; one is for children in school, against the usage and manner of all other nations be compelled for to leave their own language and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since the Normans came first into England. Also gentlemen's children be taught to speak French from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and can speak, and play with a child's brooch; and uplandish [men] will liken themselves to gentlemen and strive with great busyness for to speak French for to be talked of."[2]

[1] Roemer, *Origins of the English Language*, p. 261.

[2] "This apayrynge of þe burþe [of þe] tunge is bycause of tweie þinges; oon is for children in scole aȝenst þe usage and manere of alle oþere naciouns beeþ compelled for to leve hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessouns and here þinges in Frensche, and so þey haveþ seþ þe Normans come first in to Engelond. Also gentilmen children beeþ itauȝt to speke Frensche from þe tyme þat þay beeþ i-rokked in here cradel and kunneþ speke and playe wiþ a childes broche; and uplondisshe wil likne hymself to gentilmen and fondeþ wiþ greet besynesse for to speke Frensce, for to be i-tolde of." — *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, Bk. I, Chap. 59, Rolls Series, II, p. 157.

75. It has been already pointed out in speaking of Robert of Gloucester, that such a complaint could not have been written until the reaction against the use of French had become strong, and men were beginning to reason about these strange phenomena of language. We know, too, that about the time of Higden's complaint the custom itself was changed. For the translator Trevisa adds a note to the above statement, telling us exactly when the schools, in spite of their conservatism, gave up their use of French. We give the substance in somewhat modified form: —

"This manner was much used before the first death, and is since somedeal changed; for John Cornwall, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar schools and construction of French into English; and Richard Pencrich learned this manner of teaching of him, and other men of Pencrich; *so that now, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred four score and five, and of the second king Richard after the conquest nine, in all the grammar schools of England, children leaveth French and construeth and learneth in English*, and haveth thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on another side; their advantage is that they learn their grammar in less time than children were wont to do; disadvantage is that now children of the grammar schools know no more French than their left heels, and that is harm for them, and [if] they shall pass the sea and travel in strange lands and in many other places. Also gentlemen have now much left for to teach their children French."

The "first death," of which Trevisa here speaks, is the plague or black death of 1349, so that the change mentioned had its beginning before the completion of Higden's chronicle in 1352. Perhaps the passage might allow us to refer the change to a somewhat earlier period than that stated by Trevisa. It is probable the plague would be used in a very loose way to mark time; and as

Trevisa seems to refer the introduction of English to the last of three generations of teachers, it is not unreasonable to suppose the change began somewhat early in the fourteenth century.

76. Be that as it may, it is clear from the preceding discussion that some different conclusions must be reached as to the Norman period from those often drawn. In the first place the Normans conquering England, far from attempting to supplant English among the great body of the people, themselves showed a tendency to learn and use the speech of their new subjects. The use of English by descendants of the conquerors was clearly gaining ground even in the period before England lost Normandy. It has also been pointed out that after the fusion of the races, and certainly after all hatred of the language of the conquerors had ceased, scholars and courtiers introduced Parisian French under a later French influence. This, however, was the language of courtly fashion, and probably did not exclude the use of English among courtiers themselves. Finally, in the fourteenth century began a movement in favour of the native speech, which culminated soon after the middle of the century, or about three hundred years after the conquest, in the discontinuance of French and the reinstatement of the English language in the schools and in the courts of law.

CHAPTER V.

THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE AND THE RISE OF LITERARY ENGLISH.

77. We have thus far traced the manner in which English, the language of the people, as opposed to that of their conquerors, regained its position as the spoken language of all classes in England. Far more important is it to trace the revival of English as a written language for the whole people, and especially the establishment of that variety of it which has become the literary language of modern times. And here again we find misunderstanding and misstatement. We have already shown that William the Conqueror did not attempt to supplant the English speech. Equally true is it that he did not depose English from its place in public documents. From the time of Æthelberht, writs and other acts issued by the government were in English or Latin. William continued this practice, so that the writs of his reign are all in Latin or English, none being in French.[1] After William's time the use of English in government documents grows rarer until the reign of Richard I (1189–1199), the first king after the conquest of whose reign no English document is preserved.[2] But the place of English

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, p. 529.
[2] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, p. 442.



in this time is taken not by French, but by Latin, so common during the Middle Ages. Moreover, charters were written in Latin and English all through the period from 1100 to 1300, the common form being to write the gift in Latin, the boundaries of the property in English. The Norman kings also issued charters in English alone, English grants of Stephen and Henry II to Canterbury being still preserved.[1]

78. That the Normans made no haste to introduce French as the official language of England is conclusively proved by the time at which it began to be used in official documents. Strange as it may seem, the first official document in French does not occur until the year 1215, the year of Magna Charta, or one hundred and fifty years after the conquest and a decade after England had lost Normandy. Even then this use of French is not by a Norman king or one of his followers, but by Stephen Langton, the great champion of the English church and of English freedom against the tyranny of John. Moreover, less than fifty years later, or in 1258, the famous proclamation of Henry III was issued to the whole nation in English, as well as in French and Latin. It has been shown already that English had not been excluded from official use after the conquest, yet this proclamation is still important as the first in the tongue of Englishmen after the coming of the Normans. Nor does the fact that it was published in Latin and French also, detract from its value as an indication of the coming victory of English.

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I, p. 442, note 2.

79. The proclamation of Henry had relation to the Provisions of Oxford as they are called, the results of another attempt on the part of the barons and commonalty of England to curb the tyranny of their kings. These Provisions had been demanded by a great popular uprising, and it was peculiarly fitting, therefore, that they should be published in the language of the people. For this reason especially the document deserves to be quoted in full.

"Henr', þurȝ godes fultume king on Engleneloande, Lhoauerd on Yrloand', Duk on Norm' on Aquitain' and eorl on Aniow, Send igretinge to alle hise holde ilærde and ileawede on Huntendon'schir'. Þæt witen ȝe wel alle, þæt we willen and vnne*n* þæt þæt vre rædesmen alle, oþer þe moare dæl of heom þæt beoþ ichosen þurȝ us and þurȝ þæt loandes folk, on vre kuneriche, habbeþ idon and schulle*n* don in þe worþnesse of gode and on vre treowþe for þe freme of þe loande þurȝ þe besiȝte of þan to foreniseide redesmen: beo stedefæst and ilestinde in alle þinge abuten ænde. And we hoaten alle vre treowe in þe treowþe þæt heo us oȝen þæt heo stedefæstliche healden and sweren to healden and to werien þo isetnesses þæt beon imakede and beon to makien þurȝ þan to foren iseide rædesmen oþer þurȝ þe moare dæl of heom alswo alse hit is biforen iseid. And þæt æhc oþer helpe þæt for to done bi þan ilche oþe aȝenes alle men Riȝt for to done and to foangen. And noan ne nime of loande ne of eȝte wherþurȝ þis besiȝte muȝe beon ilet oþer iwersed on onie wise. And ȝif oni oþer onie cumen her onȝenes, we willen and hoaten þæt alle vre treowe heom healden deadliche ifoan. And for þæt we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde, we senden ȝew þis writ open iseined wiþ vre seel to halden amanges ȝew ine hord. Witnesse us seluen æt Lunden' þane Eȝtetenþe day on þe Monþe of Octobr' In þe Two and fowertiȝþe ȝeare of vre cruninge."[1]

[1] *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts*, by Sir H. James, Pl. XIX. A more modern version of the writ is as follows: "Henry, by the grace of God king of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greeting to all his faithful, learned, and lewd [clergy and lay people] in Huntingdonshire. That know ye

The proclamation, it will be noticed, is one to the people of Huntingdonshire, similar ones being sent to every shire in England, as we are told in the note which follows the names of the witnesses. It should also be said that the language of the document, while indicating in a general way the state of the tongue, does not in all respects represent the English of the time. But the real significance of the proclamation is that, at a time when Latin and French were usually employed in public documents, this was an attempt on the part of the court to reach Englishmen in their native tongue.

80. It is true that French was largely used in public documents after this time, but this was due not to Norman but to the later French influence already mentioned. French in the thirteenth century, says Freeman, had reached the height of its influence. It was the tongue of half the courts of Europe, and it is not strange that it should have been

well all, that we will and grant that that our councillors all, or the more deal of them that be chosen through us and through the land's folk in our kingdom, have done, and shall do, to the glory of God and in allegiance to us for the good of the land through the wisdom of the to-foresaid councillors, be steadfast and lasting in all things without end. And we call on all our faithful in the allegiance that they owe us, that they steadfastly hold and swear to hold and to defend the acts that be made, and be to make, through the to-foresaid councillors, or by the more deal of them also as it is before said. And that each help the other for to do by that same oath against all men. And let none take of land nor of property whereby this provision may be let or impaired in any wise. And if any person or persons oppose these provisions, we wish and order that all our faithful hold them as mortal foes. And for that we will that this be steadfast and lasting, we send you this writ open, signed with our seal, to hold amongst you in treasury. Witness ourselves at London the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our reign."

used in England as well. Moreover, this re-introduction of French as it may be called clearly indicates that the foreign tongue was no longer regarded with hatred as the badge of the conqueror.

81. But this later use of French was soon to give way to English. The first English documents discovered in the British Museum and Public Record Office belong to the second third of the fourteenth century.[1] It is true these are not frequent until the reign of Henry VI (1422–1461), but they point to the coming supremacy of English. The oldest private records in English yet found in the British Museum belong to the years 1375 and 1381, these being original documents of Wiltshire, preserved in London. The oldest London documents are of 1384 and 1386. The earliest petition to Parliament in English is one from the Mercers of London, bearing the date of 1386.[2] The earliest English will in the London Court of Probate is of the year 1387,[3] while the earliest statutes of the Guilds written in English date from 1389.[4] As another evidence of the disuse of French, it may be noted that from 1385, the eighth year of Richard II, Latin was commonly used instead of French, although for some time before this the latter had been almost exclusively used. The first English "Answers" by the king to petitions and bills in Parliament are of 1404. From the time of Henry VI (1422) private records are commonly in English. Petitions and bills in Parliament

[1] Morsbach, *Der Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache*, p. 3.
[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, III, p. 225.
[3] *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, Early Eng. Text Soc.
[4] *English Gilds*, Early Eng. Text Soc.



are often in English in the time of Henry VI, and from 1444 or 1445 regularly so. Indentures of war also, commonly written in French before the reign of Henry VI, were written in English in his time. Only in the statutes did French continue to hold a place beside English until 1488, a decade after Caxton, the father of English printing, had settled in England. But from this latter date the statutes are always in the native tongue.

82. To these evidences of the use of English may be added two or three facts as to the language of correspondence. The practice of using French in letters is clearly not due to the conquest, but to the French influence of the thirteenth century, for French was not used in correspondence, says Hallam,[1] until 1270. Before this time Latin had been regularly employed. In little more than a century certainly, and perhaps even before this time, English began to be used, as shown by a private letter which Lady Pelham wrote to her husband Sir John in 1399.[2] The Paston letters, which have been called the largest and most remarkable series of family letters in any European language, were written in English during the years 1424 to 1508. Moreover, during the fifteenth century, the letters of monarchs as of the nobility are in English.[3]

83. In the interpretation of these facts as to the use of English in written documents, account must be taken of the conservatism which characterizes the English people.

[1] *Literature of Europe*, I, p. 69.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 71.
[3] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, p. 537.

Remembering this, it is not strange that the movement for the revival of the native speech which began about the middle of the fourteenth century, should not have affected formal written documents much before 1400. Indeed, as a striking proof of this conservatism, it may be noted that the use of Latin for recording proceedings in courts of law, and for writing charters and bonds, was not abolished and prohibited until 1733, in the reign of George II; while the sovereign of England still approves parliamentary acts with an Old French formula, "*Le Roy* (*la Reyne*) *le veult*," 'it pleases the king.' This does not, however, militate against the general truth that English regained its place as the official language of the realm in the first half of the fifteenth century.

84. More important than the use of English in official documents is its gradual advance to the position of a literary language for all England. It must be emphasized, however, that at no time since the reign of Alfred the Great have there been wanting literary monuments in the English tongue. It is true there have been periods of decadence in our literary history. The greatest of these was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the period corresponding to the rule of the Danish kings and the first century of Norman supremacy (1016–1150). But even in this time there are some relics of an English literature, connecting links between the time of Alfred and Ælfric and the time of Orm and Layamon. After 1150 literary monuments in English became far more numerous, and they continue uninterruptedly to the modern age. Yet, as before mentioned, the writers



of the period from 1150 to Chaucer did not use the same dialect, each choosing that with which he was familiar, whether Northern, or Midland, or Southern. It is only from the time of Chaucer and his successors that the literary language which we use began to be the literary, or standard, language for all England.

85. During the Norman period English naturally failed to hold its place as the literary language of the realm. French was spoken for a time by the conquerors, and French became, to some extent, the language of books. As stated before, there grew up on English soil an Anglo-Norman literature. In evidence of the strength and persistence of this French literature in England, it may be noted that the oldest manuscript of the song of Roland — the song which the Normans raised when they went into the battle of Hastings — is of Anglo-Norman origin. In addition to this may be mentioned Philip de Thaun's *Bestiaire* and the famous histories of Gaimar and Wace, the *Estorie des Bretons* and *Estorie des Engleis* of the one, the *Geste des Bretons*, or *Brut d'Engleterre*, and the *Geste des Normans*, or *Roman de Rou*, of the other.

86. But a possible misconception in this matter of the literature is to be guarded against. This Anglo-Norman literature neither prevented the use of English during the Norman period, nor was French the only foreign language represented in writings of the time. Latin, the universal language of medieval culture, had been used beside the English from an early period. Bede and Alcuin, Asser and Ælfric wrote Latin long before the conquest, and after

the coming of the Normans Latin still remained in use for three centuries. Nor after the rise of literary English did it cease, for it even continued into modern times as in the writings of Bacon, Milton, and Isaac Newton. During the Norman period the chronicles were most commonly written in Latin. This is a proof that, as in the case of the spoken language, no attempt was made to supplant English in books, but that Latin continued to be used by scholars as it had been before the conquest, while English and French held their places beside it, one the language of the people, and one the language of the courtier.

87. In the fourteenth century, however, when English was becoming the language of the court, of the schools, of legal proceedings and of public documents, a renewed use of English in literature is also observable. "The Anglo-Norman speech had not yet died out in England, but it only prolonged a partly artificial and partly starved vitality."[1] Latin was still used, but far less commonly than in the preceding century. English alone shows a decided gain in all departments of literature. First came a great popular revival of poetry in the old alliterative metre, as shown by the works of Langland and the poet of *Pearl*, by the songs of Lawrence Minot, and other poems. Next, the great Chaucer, poet of the court rather than of the people, himself largely under the influence of French and Italian models, used English throughout his works, and was followed by a school that gloried in imitating its great master. In friendly rivalry or direct imitation of his great contemporary, Gower also forsook French and

[1] Ten Brink, *Early English Literature*, I, p. 327.



Latin for the mother tongue. About the same time, too, the reformer Wyclif, who had used Latin as the natural language of learning, not only aided in translating the Bible into English, but began to use English in controversial tracts and sermons, in his appeal to the people against the clergy. The result of this was that English began to displace Latin among scholars; for the followers of Wyclif continued the custom of their master until at the beginning of the fifteenth century the champion of orthodoxy, Pecock, chose to plead his cause against the Wyclifites in the language of the English people. Besides poetry and religious prose, the chronicle also again came to be written in English, as it had been in the Old English period. The first indication of this, perhaps, is the translation by Trevisa in 1375 of Higden's *Polychronicon*, written in 1352. The change was completed when Capgrave, about the middle of the following century, composed the first English chronicle after the conquest. Indeed, during the whole century which follows Chaucer, English was used in every kind of literature, while at the end of the century the many works which Caxton printed and spread broadcast over England tended to strengthen the literary language already established.

88. But not only did English establish itself as the literary language of England during the latter half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, but English of a particular variety or kind came to be recognized as the standard language of the whole realm. Gradually one or another of the dialects of England ceased to be written, or if written ceased to be accepted as English

by the whole people. Only one, the Midland dialect, and that variety of it spoken in London, the chief city of Midland England as of the realm, continued in recognized use and became the standard written language of the modern period. We see the beginnings of this standard speech in the writings of Chaucer. Nor is it surmised that Chaucer wrote in the Midland dialect of London merely because he was a native of the capital city. For a careful comparison of the language of his poems with that of London public documents[1] shows conclusively that Chaucer's English is that of his native city, that of the court and of state documents of the time. It should be said, however, that in one respect the language of Chaucer is not exactly the original of Modern English. Chaucer's English, as that of London in his time, was coloured by peculiarities of Southern speech which have not come down to modern times. These were gradually displaced in London English itself by the corresponding forms of Midland, so that the latter accounts in the main for our modern speech.

89. Nor is this establishment of London English as the standard language less or more than we should expect from the history of language. By standard Greek, or Greek of literature, we mean the Attic dialect elevated to supremacy as a literary language. This took place when Athens, the chief city of Attica, became the chief literary center for the Hellenic peoples. The manner in which the Latin tongue came to be the standard language of the Roman Empire is similar. There was no inevitable reason why the dialect

[1] Morsbach, *Der Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache.*

of Latium should have become the common language of all the Italic tribes, until the Latins established a supremacy over the other tribes and Rome, the chief city of Latium, became the chief city of the empire. To illustrate from the history of a modern people, the standard language of France is the language of Paris, the chief city of the Republic, and the one which has for centuries exerted the greatest influence upon the nation as a whole. From these and other examples which might be cited, it will be seen that the development of a standard language is naturally connected with the rise of a particular division of the race and with the chief city or capital of that division. It is not strange, therefore, that the standard written language of England should have sprung from the dialect of its chief city, London, as we know it has done by the most conclusive proofs.

90. In this connection must be noted an oft-repeated misstatement based on a misconception of language. It has been customary to regard Chaucer as the father of Modern English, and to attribute to his genius the literary language of England. The fiction, pleasant as it is, has been brushed away by modern philological research. We now know that Chaucer wrote, as did Wyclif, Langland, Barbour, in the dialect most familiar to him, the dialect of his place of birth. But it was Chaucer's good fortune to write also in the language of the chief city of a realm now thoroughly united, in the language that was inevitably to become the standard of after ages, so that his works have been more easily read and appreciated in the centuries since his death. Chaucer may have chosen to write in English

rather than in Latin or French, as Gower had done, but he was in no sense the creator of the language he used, and it would not be safe to assert that he exerted any peculiar or lasting influence on his native speech.

91. London English became established as the standard language so gradually and naturally that the full significance of it does not seem to have been noticed by contemporaries. Trevisa mentions[1] the three principal dialects of England and that the "men of middle England . . . understand better the side languages, Northern and Southern, than Northern and Southern understand each other." Caxton, although himself using London English in the main, shows the uncertainty he felt as to what form of the language he should employ in his works. No doubt his appreciation of the existing differences in speech was keener, because of his residence abroad for a considerable time before he finally brought the printing press to England. In the prologue to his version of the *Æneid* he thus shows his perplexity: —

"And certainly our language now used varyeth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born. For we Englishmen be born under the domination of the moon, which is never steadfast but ever wavering, waxing one season and waneth and decreaseth another season. And that common English that is spoken in one shire varyeth from another. Insomuch that in my days happened that certain merchants were in a ship in Thames, for to have sailed over the sea into Zeeland, and for lack of wind they tarried at the foreland and went to land for to refresh them. And one of them named Sheffield, a mercer, came into an house and axed for meat, and specially he axed after eggs; and the good wife answered that she could speak no French. And the merchant was angry for he also could speak no French, but would have

[1] Translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, Book I, ch. 59.

had eggs and she understood him not. And then at last another said that he would have eiren; then the good wife said that she understood him well. Lo, what should a man in these days now write, *eggs* or *eiren*. Certainly it is hard to please every man because of diversity and change of language."

92. The first clear recognition of the fact that London English was the standard written language does not occur until 1589, when the *Art of English Poesie*, attributed to George Puttenham, was published. The reference, occurring incidentally in directions as to the poet's use of language, is of special significance: —

"Our maker, therefore, at these days shall not . . . take the terms of Northern men, such as they use in daily talk, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clerks all is a matter; nor in effect any speech used beyond the river of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day. Yet it is not so courtly nor so current as our Southern English is, no more is the far Western man's speech. Ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above. I say not this, but that in every shire of England there be gentlemen and others that speak, but especially write as good Southern as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of every shire, to whom the gentlemen and also their learned clerks do for the most part condescend; but herein we are already ruled by the English dictionaries and other books written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalf." [1]

It need scarcely be noted that Puttenham uses Southern in a general sense, the language of London being Midland in the strictest sense, with possibly a Southern colouring in this time. Especially important is it that Puttenham recog-

[1] *The Art of English Poesie*, Bk. III, ch. 4, Arber's Reprint, p. 157.

nizes London English as established by usage of those who wrote books and dictionaries.

93. In this attempt at tracing the history of English through the middle period, and especially its relation to the language of the conquerors, there has been no intention of minimizing the French influence. That the conquest exerted an important influence on English there can be no doubt when we consider the number of French words in our English vocabulary. That the French influence on our literature has been a vastly important one is equally certain. But granting these facts, the French influence in the Middle English period has often been greatly exaggerated, and to it have sometimes been attributed fundamental changes in the structure of the speech, as in sounds and inflections, which cannot reasonably be due to any known foreign influence. For these reasons we have tried to show the real relation of the two languages during this important time, and to emphasize the position and fundamental importance of the native speech.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH IN MODERN TIMES.

94. Compared with English in the Old and Middle periods, the history of the modern standard speech is exceedingly simple. First, the language of London has remained the standard written form since its establishment, subject only to the changes incident to any language. There has been since Middle English times no great revolution affecting language materially, no conquest by a foreign nation such as that of the Danes or the Normans in the Old English period. Nor has there been any such radical change from within, as that by which West Saxon English in the oldest age was finally replaced by Midland English as the standard speech of later times. Yet there have been some changes of a general nature that may be rightly chronicled in a chapter on the modern speech, while the dialects of Modern English, although not so important in some respects as those of other periods, also deserve attention.

95. Most phenomena of a general character relating to Modern English are exemplifications of two tendencies found in the several centuries. The one is radical, showing itself in innovation, marked especially by freedom in coining

new words, and by the extensive use of foreign ones. The other, a conservative tendency, is exhibited by the purists who have sought to check innovation of various kinds, and to develop by use the resources of the native speech. In the sixteenth century, for example, there existed in England a strong desire to "improve" English, as they phrased it, and to place it if possible on a level with the classic tongues. The resulting movement is connected with similar attempts to elevate the modern languages in Italy under the guidance of Bembo, and in France under the direction of Ronsard and the Pléiade. The means by which the modern languages were to be improved were importations of words from the classical languages, especially Latin, and imitation of the rhetorical effects of the classical writers. To this must be added, especially for England, the importation of words from France, and to some extent from Italy and Spain.

96. The first writer to acknowledge this purpose of improving English is Sir Thomas Elyot, who, in the preface to *The Knowledge which maketh a Man Wise*, says that "divers men, rather scorning my benefit than receiving it thankfully, do shew themselves offended (as they say) with my strange terms." He refers here to his *Boke named the Governour*, published in 1531, of which he goes on to say: "I intended to augment our English tongue, whereby men should as well express more abundantly the thing that they conceived in their hearts (wherefore language was ordained), having words apt for the purpose, as also interpret out of Greek, Latin, or any other tongue into English, as

sufficiently as out of any of the said tongues into another." Some of the words Elyot mentions as late borrowings are, *industry*, *magnanimity*, *maturity*, *sobriety*, and *temperance*. He also speaks of "other words late commen out of Italy and France, and made denizins amonge us."[1] A similar purpose is professed in 1581 by George Pettie, who proposes to enrich the language by borrowing from Latin. He says: "It is indeed the ready way to enrich our tongue and make it copious; and it is the way all tongues have taken to enrich themselves."[2] Thomas Nash, the pamphleteer, defends his borrowings in the preface to *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*: —

"To the second rank of reprehenders that complain of my boistrous compound words, and ending my Italianate coined verbs all in *-ize*, . . . thus I reply: That no wind that blows strong but is boistrous. . . . Our English tongue of all languages most swarmeth with the single money of monosyllables, which are the only scandal of it. Books written in them and no other seem like shopkeepers' books that contain nothing else save half-pence, three-farthings, and two-pence. Therefore what did me I, but having a huge heap of those worthless shreds of small English in my *pia mater's* purse, to make the royaler show with them to men's eye, had them to the compounders immediately, and exchanged them four into one, and others into more, according to the Greek, French, Spanish, Italian."[3]

97. A second class of writers represents a purist tendency with regard to English. They also wished to see English on a level with the classic tongues, so far as that was possible. But they felt that large borrowing from the classics, from French, and later to a less extent from Italian

[1] *The Governour*, edited by Croft, Index.
[2] Jusserand, *English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 72, 73.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 300.

and Spanish, was rather a corruption of the speech than a real improvement. The earliest of the purists is Ascham, who thus writes in the introduction to *Toxophilus* (1544): —

"He that will write well in any tongue, must follow this council of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do; and so should every man understand him and the judgment of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard. Once I communed with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and increased thereby, saying: 'Who will not praise that feast where a man shall drink at dinner both wine, ale, and beer?' 'Truly,' quoth I, 'they be all good every one taken by himself alone, but if you put Malvesie and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, and all in one pot, you shall make a drink neither easy to be known nor yet wholesome for the body.'"[1]

Thomas Wilson, who published the *Arte of Rhetorike* in 1553, is even more severe upon the use of foreign words. He says: —

"Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that we never affect any strange inkhorn terms, but to speak as is commonly received. . . . Some seek so far for outlandish English that they forget altogether their mother's language. . . . Some far journeyed gentlemen at their return home, like as they love to go in foreign apparel, so they will powder their talk with over-sea language. He that cometh lately out of France, will talk French English, and never blush at the matter. Another chops in with English Italianated and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking. . . . The unlearned or foolish fantastical, that smells but of learning (such fellows as have seen learned men in their days) will so Latin their tongues that the simple cannot but wonder at their talk, and think surely they speak by some revelation."[2]

[1] *Toxophilus*, Arber's Reprint, p. 18.
[2] *Arte of Rhetorike*, Book III, p. 165.

The author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, § 92, also belongs to the same purist school ; for although he gives credit to the best poets "for having by their thankful studies so much beautified our English tongue," he also writes thus of the corrupters of language : —

"Albeit paradventure some small admonition be not impertinent, for we find in our English writers many words and speeches amenable, and ye shall see in some many inkhorn terms so ill affected, brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolmasters; and many strange terms of other languages by secretaries, and merchants and travelers and many dark words, and not usual nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken in court."[1]

98. Both these classes of writers, however, had their share in the development of English. The two influences worked together, so that the tendency of the first class to incorporate without judgment in the vocabulary of English many foreign and newly coined words, was checked by the second class, while the latter was no doubt influenced by the former to some extent. That the purists were not narrow extremists is shown by other parts of their works. For example, Wilson, who is so severe upon the affected use of foreign words, says in another place: "Now, whereas words be received, as well Greek as Latin, to set forth our meaning in the English tongue, either for lack of store or else because we would enrich the language, it is well done to use them, and no man therein can be charged for any affectation when all other are agreed to follow the same way."[2] Perhaps no one has put the matter more truly for a

[1] *Arte of English Poesie*, Arber's Reprint, p. 157, 158.
[2] *Arte of Rhetorike*, Book III, p. 167.

language in which borrowed words are common. Puttenham also justifies himself in his special treatise on poetry, for "many strange and unaccustomed words borrowed from other languages." He mentions as foreign, but justifiable in his view, such words as *compendious, conduct, declination, delineation, dimension, figurative, function, harmonious, idiom, impression, indignity, inveigle, method, methodical, metrical, numerous, numerosity, penetrable, penetrate, placation, politician, prolix, refining, scientific, signification.* But he objects to *attemptat* 'attempt,' *audacious, compatible, egregious, fecundity, implete.*

99. Both classes of writers, it is to be noticed, accepted English as the proper instrument of expression for Englishmen. Ascham, among the purists, says in the *Toxophilus*[1]: "If any man would blame me either for taking such a matter in hand, or else for writing it in the English tongue, this answer I may make him, — that whan [when] the best of the realm think it [English] honest for them to use, I, one of the meanest sort, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write." Pettie also, one who favoured borrowing freely from the classics, defends himself against those "who will set light by my labours because I write in English; and there are some nice travellers who return home with such queasie stomachs that nothing will down with them but French, Italian, or Spanish. . . . They count [our tongue] barren; they count it barbarous; they count it unworthy to be accounted of."[2]

[1] Arber's Reprint, Introduction, p. 18.

[2] Jusserand, *English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 72.

100. The use of English so extensively in that flowering of our literature, the Elizabethan age, indicates that the language was already established as the permanent medium of expression both for poetry and prose. There were still a few favourers of Latin, a few disbelievers in the stability of the modern tongues such as Bacon, who wrote only three years before his death to his friend Toby Matthew: "It is true my labours are now most set to have those works which I had formerly published . . . well translated into Latin. . . . For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupts with books." This idea of the instability of the modern, compared with the ancient, languages grew out of the revival of the classics, and especially the use of Latin as the language of learning. The standard in Latin, the language of Cicero, was absolute and unchangeable. Whether it was imitated exactly or not it still remained a fixed quantity, and the modern writer of Latin was regarded as more or less perfect in proportion as he caught the style and spirit of the great Roman orator. With modern languages it was not so. There was no fixed standard to be imitated, and men saw that, by comparison with an older time, there had been great change in diction, grammar, and style. They feared that works committed to such an unstable medium would soon become antiquated and buried in libraries, rather than read and appreciated by posterity. This led to the establishment of academies which undertook to set a standard and prevent change. The first of these, the Academia Della Crusca, was established in Italy in the sixteenth century, and this was followed by the French Academy, founded at the suggestion of Richelieu in 1635.

101. The idea of the instability of the modern tongue was strongest in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Milton ranks next to him "who fixes the principles and founds the manners of a state," "him who endeavours by precept and by rules to perpetuate that style and idiom of speech and composition which have flourished in the purest periods of the language."[1] Dryden regrets "that, speaking so noble a language as we do, we have not a more certain measure of it as they have in France, where they have an Academy enacted for that purpose and endowed with large privileges by the present king."[2] The first proposition to found such an institution in England seems to have been made by Edmund Bolton, who in 1617 suggested a grand Royal Academy, one part of which was to be devoted to literature. Dryden favoured an Academy, as shown by the dedication of *Troilus and Cressida*. In referring to it, he says: "I am desirous, if it were possible, that we might all write with the same certainty of words, and purity of phrase, to which the Italians first arrived and after them the French; at least that we might advance so far as our tongue is capable of such a standard." Yet Dryden did not depreciate English, for in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesie* he says: "Our language is noble, full, and significant; and I know not why he who is master of it may not clothe ordinary things in it as decently as the Latin, if he use the same diligence in his choice of words."

102. The tendency to introduce foreign words freely, together with the criticism of this tendency, are both found

[1] Letters to Buonmattai, *Prose Works* (Bohn), III, p. 496.
[2] Dedication to *Rival Ladies*.

in the seventeenth century, as in fact through the whole modern period. In the works of Dryden occur many new words of foreign origin, § 178. Yet he seems to have tried to take a middle course in this respect, for he says, in the dedication to *Rival Ladies*, already quoted: "I have endeavoured to write English as near as I could distinguish it from the tongue of pedants, and that of affected travellers." In another place,[1] while admitting the value of the borrowed element already a part of English, he takes strong ground against the affected importation of foreign terms: —

"As for the other part of refining, which consists in receiving new words and phrases, I shall not insist much on it. It is obvious that we have admitted many, some of which we wanted, and therefore our language is the richer for them, as it would be by importation of bullion; others are rather ornamental than necessary; yet by their admission, the language is become more courtly and our thoughts are better dressed. . . . I can not approve of their way of refining, who corrupt our English idiom by mixing it too much with French: that is a sophistication of language, not an improvement of it; a turning English into French rather than refining English by French."

Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, in his *Satire on our Ridiculous Imitation of the French*, could be even more severe on the use of foreign words so common in his time: —

"And while they idly think to enrich
Adulterate their native speech;
For, though to smatter ends of Greek
Or Latin be the rhetorique
Of pedants courted and vain-glorious,
To smatter French is meritorious;

[1] *Defence of the Epilogue.*

And to forget their mother-tongue,
Or purposely to speak it wrong,
A hopeful sign of parts and wit
And that they improve and benefit."

103. The seventeenth century proposal to establish an Academy was renewed in the eighteenth century by Swift. In a *Tatler* of September 28, 1710, he urged that the paper should exercise its authority as censor, "and by an annual *index expurgatorius* expunge all words and phrases that are offensive to good sense." In February, 1712, Swift elaborated his idea in a "*Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*," published as a letter to the Earl of Oxford. In one part of this he says: "In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free, judicious choice should be made of such persons as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place and fix on rules by which they design to proceed." Meanwhile the *Spectator* had joined in urging the same thing. In the number for August 4, 1711, the writer favours "something like an Academy that, by the best authorities and rules drawn from the analogy of languages, shall settle all controversies between grammar and idiom." On September 8th of the same year a similar wish was expressed, that "certain men might be set apart as superintendents of our language, to hinder any words of a foreign coin passing among us."

104. These proposals came from the purists who were fighting, during the eighteenth century, what they called the

corruption of English, — an idea largely peculiar to this period. Dryden had claimed an improvement in English since Shakespeare's time, by which he meant possibly greater regularity of usage, besides something of polish and elegance as distinct from the more rugged, at times harsh, language of the Elizabethans. But the writers of the eighteenth century saw, or thought they saw, a corruption going on in the language. They mention two classes of persons who are responsible for this, the pedants, as they were called, and the young men who, "terribly possessed with the fear of pedantry," as Swift says, "run into a worse extreme, . . . borrow the newest set of phrases, and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffee-house, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of style."[1] The *Spectator* would also "prohibit any French phrases from becoming current in this kingdom, when those of our own stamp are altogether as valuable." One other fear, particularly strong in the eighteenth century, was that the changes going on in the language would make it impossible for succeeding ages to read or appreciate the literature produced. Swift believed this was the reason why so few turned to literature, or tried to produce it. This led to the strong desire that the language should be once for all fixed and rendered incapable of change. The erroneous idea was held that Greek, for instance, had remained unchanged from Homer to Plutarch, or for about one thousand years. Swift expressed the common wish when he said in the *Proposals* already quoted: "But what I have most at heart is that some method should be thought on for ascertaining

[1] *Proposals for Correcting the English Language.*

and fixing our language forever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite."

105. With the purists in their effect on the language must be classed the lexicographers, who began to exercise an important influence in the eighteenth century. English lexicography had its beginning in the early seventeenth century, but notwithstanding occasional references to the influence of dictionaries, § 92, it is probable they were not an important factor in affecting language until the following century. Among eighteenth century lexicographers, the greatest was Samuel Johnson, whose dictionary appeared in 1755. Johnson believed with Swift that the language should be prevented from further change as well as rescued from further corruption. In the *Plan* of his dictionary addressed to Lord Chesterfield he says explicitly, "One great end of this undertaking is to fix the English language." But Johnson rather scorned the idea of an Academy, the establishment of which he hopes "the spirit of English liberty will hinder or destroy."[1] It is true that before the great lexicographer had completed his work he appreciated to some extent the impossibility of his first purpose, and he frankly admits the change in his views in the *Preface* to the Dictionary. Yet he was generally thought to have done much toward establishing the use of words in his own generation and to succeeding times. In reality, besides acting as a restraining influence upon language in common with other purists of his time, Johnson did little more than fix the forms of words, establishing for his time and to

[1] *Preface* to Dictionary.

a great extent for this century the orthography of the language.

106. We have so far dealt with tendencies affecting the written language, the language of literature. But the eighteenth century is notable also for the beginning of attempts to improve and correct the spoken language; in other words, to set up a standard pronunciation. This, it is clear, is but another direction of the purist tendency we have already noted. Dialectal differences in pronunciation were naturally recognized very early. Chaucer makes the Cambridge students in the Reeve's Tale use the Yorkshire dialect. Shakespeare made use of dialect in presenting his characters dramatically, as in the case of Fluellen the Welshman, and of Edgar in *Lear*. But it was apparently not until the eighteenth century that there was any special attempt to establish a standard pronunciation of English. The evidence of this attempt is naturally found in the dictionaries. For a time, however, the only indication of pronunciation was the accent of words, which was first marked in the *Universal Etymological Dictionary* of Bailey published in 1721. Johnson followed Bailey in marking only accents in the great dictionary of 1755. It was not until 1773 that William Kenrick indicated the particular vowel sounds in the dictionary he then published, thus establishing orthoëpy in its modern sense. This custom, once begun, was quickly followed by Perry in 1775, Sheridan in 1780, Walker in 1791, and by the American lexicographers, Webster and Worcester, in the early part of this century.

107. The effect on language of this attempt to establish a standard pronunciation has been twofold. Undoubtedly it has somewhat retarded natural tendencies toward sound changes, and it has equally prevented the establishment of dialectal pronunciations. On the other hand, owing to the theory of the older lexicographers, that words should be pronounced as they were spelled, the dictionaries have tended to re-establish an older pronunciation especially with respect to the unaccented syllables. In other words, they have tried to make pronunciation conform to the anomalies of our present English spelling, § 241 foot-note. This tendency to follow the written form with slight regard to phonetic laws has been particularly strong in America under the influence of our lexicographers of this century. An example of the manner in which spelling has influenced the spoken word is *won't = will not.* The *o* here represents a former *u* sound resulting from *i* by influence of preceding *w*. It should, therefore, be pronounced like *u* of *but*, not like *o* of *don't*. The pronunciation with the latter sound, preferred by most lexicographers, is wholly owing to the spelling. The influence on unstressed syllables has been far greater, as shown by comparison of eighteenth century pronunciation with that of to-day. For example, in the first half of Johnson's satire *London* occur the following words, all dissyllabic in the poem, as shown by the metre: *neighbouring, vigorous, Marlborough, favourites, general, slavery, interest, bravery, faltering.* Yet these, with the possible exception of *general*, would be trisyllabic in careful speech to-day, especially in America. Many other examples might also be cited to illustrate the same

influence of the attempt to establish a standard pronunciation based on the written form.

108. It is more difficult to estimate the force of the two influences already mentioned in the present century. There can be no doubt that many words have been added to the language in the lines of philosophical and scientific nomenclature, and to some extent in literary and art criticism. Especially noteworthy also is the re-introduction of many words belonging to the older literary language, no doubt largely through the revival of earlier English literature which began in the last century. The imitation of the older ballad poetry has revived some archaic words found in such poems, as *eftsoons*, *I wis* (ME. *iwis* 'certainly'), used by Coleridge and others. Tennyson has *rathe* 'early,' *wot*, *wist*, *nathless*, *adown*, *anear*, *atween*, *enow*, *lief*, and many others. Browning shows a similar tendency, many of the words being not only old, but odd and scarcely likely to be generally adopted. In *The Ring and the Book*, for example, occur *cark*, *clomb*, *dubiety*, *endlong*, *holpen*, *quag*, *repristination*, *round* 'whisper,' *sib*, *smoothens*, *smugly*, *spilth*, and others. This last tendency is rather to be regarded as purist in character, since words once belonging to the language are used to the exclusion of words of learned origin. The extreme of purism is seen in such a proposal as that of William Barnes, the Dorset poet, who wished to bring the English speech back to its original Teutonic character. In his grammar of English, or *Outline of English Speechcraft*, he uses such terms as *time-taking* for 'tense,' *mark-word of suchness* for 'adjective' *pitch-mark* for 'comparison.' Such

an attempt, absurd as it is, rests upon the serious belief that there is something pernicious in a borrowed word, even one of long standing and good use. Yet this proposal is scarcely more absurd than the wail of corruption because of the borrowed element in English, which has been put up too often by writers in this century as in the last, § 134.

Dialects in Modern English.

109. We have already mentioned the dialects of Old and Middle English. These were important, because a literature was produced in each, and each was in a sense a literary language of Britain. With the dialects of Modern English it is somewhat different. The elevation of London English to be the standard literary language, did not prevent other dialects from retaining a place among the common people, and continuing to the present time; but Modern English dialects are far less important from a literary standpoint, few of them being represented by works exclusively dialectal. England has now no less than six distinct dialect divisions with numerous subdivisions. The main divisions are the Lowland of Scotland, the Northern, Midland, Western, Eastern, and Southern, each with marked peculiarities. These differ so greatly, as spoken by the common people, that a yeoman of one district might have difficulty in making himself understood in another. Most striking in their peculiarities are the Yorkshire and Devonshire dialects, some idea of which may be gained from Tennyson's *Northern Farmer*, and Blackmore's *Lorna Doone*. Only one of these dialects, the Lowland Scotch, has had in modern times a literature of its own.

It is true that Southern English was represented in the literature of the eighteenth century by one or two works, of which the *Exmoor Scolding* may be especially mentioned, and in the nineteenth century by the works of William Barnes, already referred to, § 108. But these can hardly be said to constitute an important revival of Southern English.

The Scotch Dialect.

110. Lowland Scotch, as it is called, is an outgrowth of Northern English, and did not differ materially from it until about 1450. In this early period the language of the Scottish writers and that of the *Cursor Mundi* or other Northern works is almost, if not quite, identical. Moreover, the Scotch themselves called the language English, or Inglis their form of the word. But from the middle or last of the fifteenth century to the union with England in 1603, the Scotch dialect represented Northern English in literary use, beside Midland which had supplanted the other dialects in England. After the union the Scotch form of English ceased to be the language of general literature, Scotch writers commonly adopting literary English, although their native dialect still continued to be used in popular poetry as well as by the common people.[1]

111. While the Scottish dialect did not come to exist as a separate literary language until the middle or end

[1] See the excellent study of *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, by James A. H. Murray, in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1870–1872.

of the fifteenth century, there is an uninterrupted series of Scottish writers from the fourteenth century, the period of Scottish independence. The earliest of these, the father of Scottish poetry, was John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. A contemporary of Chaucer he had half completed his epic, the *Bruce*, in 1375. Another epic of his, the *Brut*, relating the descent of Scottish kings from the Roman Brutus, has not been preserved to us. Next comes Andrew Wyntoun, who completed about 1420 the *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, bringing the history down to his own time. Among other Scottish poets of importance are James I (1394–1437), who wrote the *King's Quhair* 'quire or book'; William Dunbar (1460?–1530?), one of the greatest Scottish writers; Gawain Douglas (1474–1522), David Lindsay (1490?–1555), and King James VI, James I of England (1566–1625), whose poems are noteworthy mainly because they were written by a king. A fuller account of these and of their works belongs rather to literature than to the history of language. After James VI, as already noted, Scottish writers generally adopted English in their works.

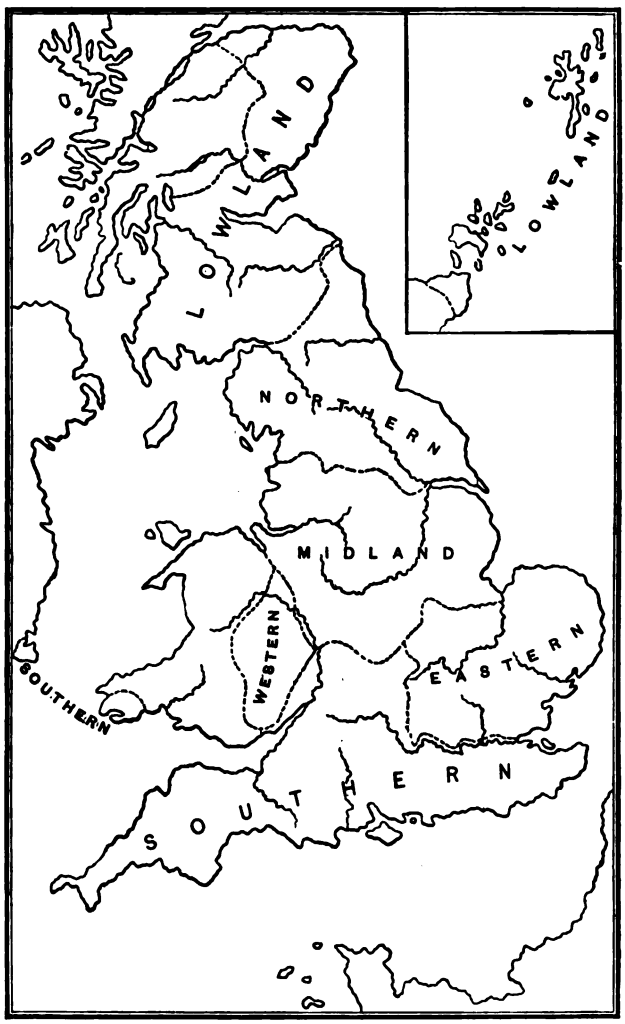
112. The Scotch dialect finally elevated to the position of literary language was that spoken in and about the capital city, Edinburgh, rather than the speech of the extreme southern lowlands. This was subjected in the course of its history to various influences from without, the Norse, Celtic, French, Classical, and English, of which only the briefest accounts can be given. The Norse influence was slight according to Murray, but as no thorough investiga-

tion of it has been made, it is perhaps unsafe to estimate it at present. The Celtic influence was somewhat greater than on English, Celtic being spoken for a longer period in closer proximity to the literary center than in England. For this reason a considerable number of Celtic words are found in Scotch, from which source some of them were later introduced into English. What is known as the French influence was due to that close union of Scotland with France, by which the former was able to retain her independence for so many years. Owing to this close alliance many French words that have no place in English entered Scotch, as shown for example by the poems of Burns. The Classical influence was due to the Revival of Learning, by which Scotland was as directly affected as was England. Lastly, Scotch writers were constantly being influenced in vocabulary as in subject by the literature of England. This was especially true at the time of the Reformation, the leaders of the movement in Scotland being in constant intercourse with the English reformers. There was, for instance, no Scotch translation of the Scriptures, so that the English Bible was used by the Reformers in Scotland. This use was strenuously opposed by the Catholic party, and was actually illegal, until in 1543 by act of Parliament, "it was maid free to all, man and woman, to reid the Scriptures in thair awin toung, or in the Engliss toung." The literature of the Elizabethan age also affected Scotland, and both of these influences materially aided in bringing about the adoption of English as the literary language of the Scottish people.

113. It was said above that the Scottish speech still remained after the Scottish writers had begun to use English, and that it appears in popular poetry. In fact, Scotch experienced a strong revival in the ballad and lyric poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns. Still, these poets did not use the vernacular in anything like its entirety, but rather a conventionalized form of Scotch. This may be exemplified from some of the poems of Burns, in which Murray, in the article cited above, shows the exact number of Scotch words compared with those that are English or Scotch only in form. "*A man's a man for a' that*, contains 115 different words, of which 18 only are not English. *Duncan Gray cam here to woo*, the different words in which number 117, has 30 which are not English; and *Auld Lang Syne*, out of 80 words, has 24 which an English reader would point out as Scotch. *Scots wha hae*, with 100 words, has only 9 not English."

114. The dialects of modern England may be represented by the following map, prepared by A. J. Ellis,[1] who spent his life in an investigation of the history of English sounds and the dialects of the modern speech. It will be seen that the relation of these modern dialects to those of Old English may be easily traced. Southern English has remained almost as in the oldest period. Northern English has spread northward over part of Scotland, — this more northern dialect being given a separate name, Lowland. The older Midland has three subdivisions, based on dialectal differences which began to appear either in Old or Middle English.

[1] *Early English Pronunciation*, Vol. V.



The Dialects of England in the Nineteenth Century.

American English.

115. Not only is English the standard language of the British Empire, but it became the language of a new nation by the separation of the American colonies from the mother country. This makes it important to consider what changes, if any, have taken place owing to the separate development of our own nation, and what is the present relation of American to British English. Yet the lack of careful studies of American English, and especially of its relation to that of the mother country, makes it impossible to do more than present general facts and tendencies. Historically American English is based on English of the seventeenth century, the great era of American colonization. Since that time, this foundation of seventeenth century English has been variously affected in America, both from within and from without. From without it has been influenced to some extent by later immigration from the mother country and from other lands. But people from other foreign lands have in general adopted English, so that few changes in vocabulary, much less in the structure of the speech, can be attributed to them. Besides, in recognition of a common ancestry and under the influence of a common literature, there has been a general tendency to conform to the standards of England, especially in writing and to some extent in speech. On the other hand, local influences and the development of national life have led to some considerable changes at least in vocabulary. Owing also to the curious fact that the colony usually tends to preserve the language of the time of separation, we retain

some older words and some meanings of words not now found in England.

116. As to the relation of American English of the nineteenth century to British English, various views have been held. When American lexicography began, in the first decades of this century, Noah Webster recognized to a considerable extent American, as distinct from British, usage in words and an American pronunciation.[1] The recognition of American usage was avowed, not only in the preface, but in the title of the edition of 1828, called an *American Dictionary of the English Language*. Webster chose his examples for the use of words largely from American writers; he gave American rules for pronunciation, and he made some changes in orthography. On the other hand, Worcester, his great rival in the field of lexicography, conformed far more largely to British standards, refusing to adopt many of Webster's more radical views.

117. These two opinions as to the relation of American and British English have found advocates all through the century. On the one side, extreme purists, following Worcester, have proposed absolute conformity to British standards as the only correct usage. Such a one is Richard Grant White, who puts the principle thus concisely: "In language, everything distinctively American is bad."[2] Others have followed the lead of Webster in most particulars. Extremists of this opinion, with slight regard for the history of language, support a separate standard for America on patri-

[1] Preface to a *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*, 1806.
[2] *The Atlantic Monthly*, xli, 495.

otic grounds. But the more conservative base their belief in the eventual recognition of a somewhat different standard for America on the inevitable changes in language, and the impossibility of two nations so far separate as England and the United States conforming to a single standard of usage.[1] They point out that such duality of standards in a single race has existed in the past, as in case of Attic and Laconian Greek, although by far the more important literature is in Attic Greek. From the fifteenth century to the union of Scotland and England under the same king, English was represented by two standards, one that of Edinburgh, the other that of London. Nor is there any reason to suppose this duality of standards would have been given up except for the political union of the two countries. A similar dual standard was once found in the German of Switzerland and that of the German empire.[2] Yet the dual standard thus suggested for the English people in Britain and America does not preclude substantial agreement, at least in the literary language. American English has so far developed nearly parallel to British literary English and in substantial agreement with it. Moreover, while the student of language and the close observer will continue to find slight differences in diction and syntax between the two, there is no reason to suppose they will not continue to develop side by side, neither one nor the other eventually being regarded as inferior. In any event there can be no danger of such separation as will make it difficult for either people to read and appreciate the literature of the other.

[1] Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 173.
[2] Strong, Logeman, and Wheeler, *The History of Language*, p. 410.

118. When we come to consider the spoken language of the two countries more considerable differences naturally appear. Take, for example, the vocabularies of the two peoples. It would be impossible that there should not be differences between democracy and aristocracy in the language of governmental relations. Such differences are too obvious to need illustration. But the differences between a democratic government and one with an hereditary and titular aristocracy belong not only to governmental but also to social relations. Besides, social customs will seldom be exactly the same for any long period in two widely separated countries, so that this again must be taken into account in the vocabularies of England and America. Then, too, the cultivated language of every country is constantly receiving some additions from the language of common life, and as the conditions of life differ in the vigorous growth of America and the more staid conservatism of England, so the additions to the standard language from this source must differ in themselves. This is exemplified by the colloquialisms of the two countries. Examples of these are British *clever*, *ill*, *knocked up*, and American *smart*, *sick*, *tired*. Certain colloquial words have different meanings in the two countries; as, *nice* British 'small, delicate,' American 'agreeable'; *fix* British 'establish,' American 'arrange, repair'; *quite* British 'entirely,' American 'very.' These differences in the spoken usage of the two countries are more considerable when we examine particular phases of life. Take for instance the nomenclature of railway travel. Compare the following pairs, the first of which is American, the second British in each case: *Engineer—driver*; *fireman*

—stoker; conductor—guard; baggage-car—van; baggage—luggage; trunk—box; check—register; car—carriage; track—line; freight-train—goods-train; to switch—to shunt.[1]

119. In one important respect American English differs from the modern language of England. Spoken English throughout America is more uniform among all classes, there being no such strongly marked dialects as in England. This is no doubt accounted for by the fact that the language originated in the middle class of English society, and that, since its transplanting to America, it has not had time to break up into widely diverse dialects. Yet, as pointed out by Whitney[2] nearly thirty years ago, we can by no means safely say there are no dialects in America. Although there has been little careful study in this field, three great divisions, — the east, the west, and the south, — may be said to have certain characteristic differences, not only in the language of the uneducated, but also, to some extent, in that of the educated. Of these three great divisions, the most pronounced dialects are those of New England for the east, the upper Mississippi valley for the west, and perhaps Virginia and the Carolinas for the south. It is certainly true also that, when we take into account the speech of the uneducated, the dialectal peculiarities are more numerous and far more marked.

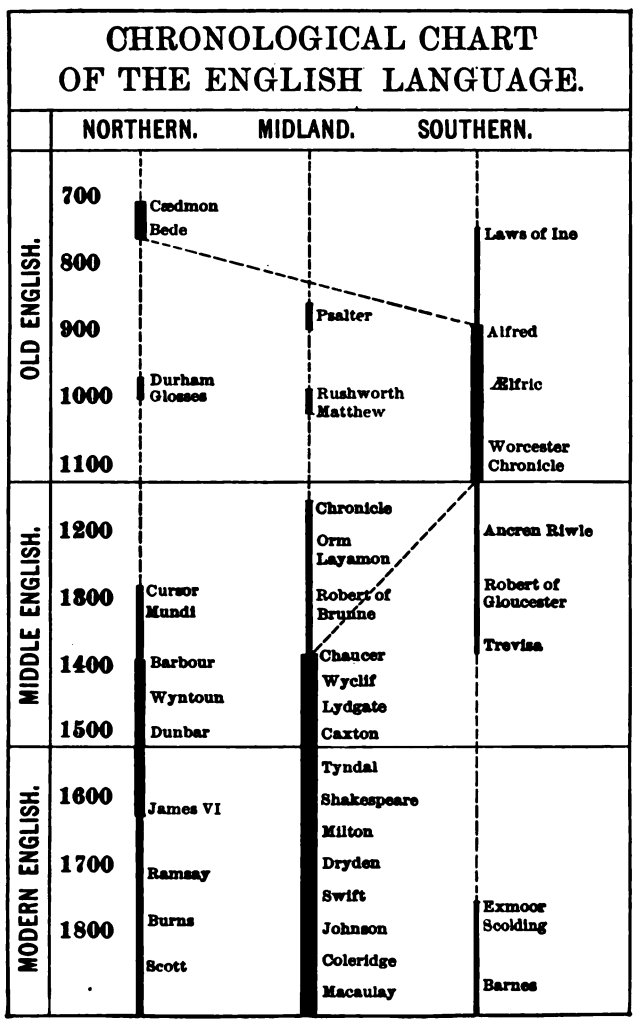
120. America differs from England also in having no one locality, the speech of which is acknowledged by all as standard usage. The only standard recognized in America

[1] Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, under *Railroad*.
[2] *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 174.

is that of dictionaries which attempt to follow, not one locality, but the best usage of the country as a whole. The standard thus set up is more artificial than if the speech of a particular locality were chosen, and perhaps for this reason the dictionaries, influential as they are, have not been able to counteract considerable dialectal divergence. In time, no doubt, the speech of one or more localities will come to be recognized as the standard by all good speakers. Yet it need not be supposed that even this will prevent the growth of dialects in America, especially among the uneducated, and these may finally become nearly as distinct as the dialects of Yorkshire and Devonshire in the mother country.

121. The history of the standard speech and the principal dialects, which we have traced at some length through the various periods, may be illustrated by the diagram on the following page.[1] This shows the vicissitudes of the three principal speech divisions, Northern, Midland, and Southern, Kentish not being separated from the latter. With each are given some typical works or authors representing the various dialects, and the lines are made broader or narrower in proportion as the literature is of greater or less importance. The dotted line crossing the chart represents the standard language which first sprang from the Northern dialect, next from the Southern, and finally from the Midland, to which it still belongs. But it should be noted that from the time of Chaucer to the reign of James I there was really a dual standard in the language.

[1] Cf. the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article the *English Language*.


CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.
NORTHERN.
MIDLAND.
SOUTHERN.
OLD ENGLISH.
MIDDLE ENGLISH.
MODERN ENGLISH.
700
800
900
1000
1100
1200
1300
1400
1500
1600
1700
1800
Cædmon
Bede
Durham Glosses
Psalter
Rushworth Matthew
Laws of Ine
Alfred
Ælfric
Worcester Chronicle
Chronicle
Orm
Layamon
Robert of Brunne
Chaucer
Ancren Riwle
Robert of Gloucester
Trevisa
Cursor Mundi
Barbour
Wyntoun
Dunbar
Wyclif
Lydgate
Caxton
Tyndal
Shakespeare
Milton
Dryden
Swift
Johnson
Coleridge
Macaulay
James VI
Ramsay
Burns
Scott
Exmoor Scolding
Barnes

For the English of Edinburgh was as truly a standard for the Scotch in this period, as the English of London was for the people of England. With the accession of James I, however, a single standard speech again came to be recognized by all.

III.

THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

122. Thus far we have traced the English speech in the more general sense from its establishment on the island of Britain to modern times. We have followed the vicissitudes of the standard, or literary, language and the more prominent dialects during the old and middle periods, to the establishment of the modern standard speech at the close of Middle English times. An attempt has also been made to characterize some of the more important influences that have affected the modern standard language. It still remains to consider certain elements of the language more in detail, and to investigate them more systematically. Perhaps it is but natural that we should begin with an examination of the word-stock of English speaking peoples, or the English vocabulary.

123. When we speak of the vocabulary, we may use the term in various senses. We may very naturally refer to the whole body of words found in the dictionary. But there are

other senses in which the term is used, and the consideration of these will help us to understand some phases of language not usually taken into account. Each individual has a vocabulary of his own, differing somewhat from that of another individual, and largely from that of the whole race. We see this in certain writers whose peculiar words are often a characteristic mark of their writings. There is proof of the same fact also in the way in which the vocabulary of the individual is acquired. The child first learns only a few of the words belonging to the locality in which he lives. As he grows older he gradually acquires others, while he learns to use some words which he finds in books, as well as to recognize many which he does not actually use. Travel, or a larger acquaintance, adds other new words to the original stock, while, on the other hand, some words used in childhood and youth are discarded and finally lost. The vocabulary even of the individual is therefore not stable, but constantly changing, constantly suffering growth and decay.

124. Besides, the vocabulary of the individual is far more restricted than might be ordinarily supposed. Even the word-stock of our greatest writers includes a comparatively small proportion of the words actually found in the dictionaries or existing in the speech itself. We know, for example, that Shakespeare in his works used about 15,000 words, and Milton about 8,000. It has been estimated also that the ordinary individual does not under ordinary circumstances use half of the latter number. Of course each individual may recognize and understand many words which he himself does not actually use. This indicates, also, that

the expression vocabulary of the individual has two distinct senses, as it applies first, to the words he actually uses, and second, to the words he understands when used. What is true as to individual differences in vocabulary, is true also of the class or condition of life to which the individual belongs. There are, therefore, various areas in language in which the vocabulary is more or less distinct. These linguistic areas however may overlap, as individuals of one class come into contact with those of another.

125. Moreover, in addition to these linguistic areas representing the words actually used by individuals or by classes of society, there are in the same linguistic area what may be called language strata, overlying one another and differing one from another. For example, there may be at least three of these speech strata from which the individual may draw at different times. First is the vocabulary of his colloquial usage, a limited word-stock consisting for the most part of words expressing only the simplest ideas. Next in importance is the vocabulary of his trade, occupation, or profession, consisting of more or less technical terms and phrases, many of which do not occur in his familiar or conversational speech. Lastly, the individual may possess a vocabulary which he uses only in more formal address or in literature. This is characterized by words found in books or discourses, and seldom used at other times. This literary language has one characteristic difference from the other speech strata mentioned. The colloquial language may be fairly uniform over a small linguistic area, but it will differ widely in widely separate areas. The language of one pro-

fession may be fairly uniform, but may be almost unintelligible to the members of another profession. But the literary language, while it will differ somewhat as used by various individuals, is the nearest approach to a norm, or standard, common to several linguistic areas. Yet even the literary language is not a unit. The vocabulary of different kinds of literature may differ in many respects. This is perhaps most evident in the case of poetry and prose. Poetry, for example, employs special words not used in prose, as *ire*, *wain*, *main* 'sea,' *wind* with long *i* instead of the colloquial word with a short vowel. Besides, poetical language contains many unusual compounds, as *white-winged*, *far-wandering*, *wide-wasting*, *valour-breathing*. Poetry is peculiar also in using a more archaic language than prose. We may note, as illustrating this, the obsolete forms of inflection, as *thou*, *thee*, *ye* for pronouns, verb forms in *-eth* as *loveth*, and such noun forms as *eyen*, *kine*.

126. The most obvious changes that may affect the vocabulary of a speech are what may be figuratively termed the birth and death of words. We have already noted changes in the vocabulary of the individual, and what is true of the individual is true of the race. Language is never stationary. New words are constantly being formed; living words are constantly changing their meanings, expanding, contracting, gaining or losing caste, taking on mental, moral, or spiritual significance; and old words, though long sanctioned by custom, sometimes wither and die. Of the last of these influences little can be said here, since we have mainly to do with the living speech. And

even as to the living speech, we cannot as yet undertake the history of the changes in word signification, or the undeveloped science of sematology. We can, it is true, perceive certain general directions of change in meaning. We can see how *shade*, compared with *shadow*, has enlarged its original signification; or, far more striking, we may perceive what a vastly different content the word *electricity* has from the original sense of Greek *electron*. Or we may note how *villain*, *knave*, *uncouth*, have lost caste when compared with *villager*, *boy*, *unknown*, their earlier English meanings; and how *right*, *wrong*, *spirit*, have given up the physical meanings *straight*, *twisted*, *breath*, and have assumed moral and spiritual significance.[1] But for the most part we must here confine ourselves to the growth and extent of the English vocabulary and the relation of its more important parts.

127. One of the patent facts in connection with the history of the English vocabulary is its enormous growth in number of words. It is estimated that the words found in the extant literature of Old English do not exceed 30,000, while some of our larger English dictionaries of this century contain from two hundred to three hundred thousand words. And although Old English literature does not include all the words actually used at the time, any more than present English dictionaries contain all the words used to-day, yet the numbers no doubt fairly show the relative extent of the vocabularies of the two periods. The reason

[1] For a suggestive little book on change in meaning see *The Life of Words*, by Arsène Darmesteter.

for this enormous growth lies in the changed ideas, feelings, purposes, of the English speaking peoples since our Teutonic ancestors landed on the shores of Britain in the fifth century. New ideas have come with vast changes in forms of government, law, religion, social conditions, manners of life; with the development of art, science, and commerce; with feudalism, constitutional monarchy, democracy; with the revival of learning and its effect on education and culture. All these and many other changes have necessitated the employment of new words, and a consequent increase of our word-stock. The questions naturally suggest themselves, How has this enormous increase in words been gained? How does language usually enlarge its vocabulary? We have here nothing to do with the ultimate origin of language, nor is it important that we should deal with the few cases of original creation in modern times, illustrated for instance by such a word as *gas*. The vast majority of our words are clearly derivative.

128. Before answering directly the questions above, let us consider the theories as to how words increased in the primitive speech. In § 3 we have called attention to the theoretical period of Indo-European when the vocabulary consisted of roots alone and how, it is supposed, these became words of the inflectional type through the union with other words now represented only by inflectional endings. We know also that these roots became words of various grammatical categories, as substantive, adjective, verb, adverb, by the addition of suffixes which we also suppose were independent words in prehistoric

times. The theory implies, therefore, that the early vocabulary increased by the process of forming compounds, although since we do not know the words which have become inflectional and formative suffixes, we can only surmise that they were originally parts of compounds which have been obscured by later changes — a process exemplified in the modern language, § 144. This process of word formation belonging to the primitive speech still exists to a certain extent. Certain formative suffixes are still a living force in English, as *-ness* for substantives, *-y*, *-ish* for adjectives, *-ed(d)*, *-t* for verbs, while others have been lost in modern times. But besides these theoretical compounds belonging to the primitive speech, there are many true compounds each part of which is easily recognized in every Indo-European language. The latter method of word formation is in all the languages a living force to-day.

129. There was another important method of word formation in the primitive speech which has become practically extinct in our modern tongue. This will be discussed more at length in the sections on gradation (Chapter 13), but it may here be briefly explained in its relation to the increase of the vocabulary. In the primitive Indo-European, roots assumed different forms, three, sometimes four, under the modifying influence of accent. From each of these root variations, as from the primitive root, new words of different grammatical categories might be formed. By reason of gradation, therefore, the derivatives of each root would be increased three or four fold. Thus from the root appearing in *bear*, were

formed in the earlier time *bier*, *born*, *bearn* 'child,' and a lost *beorn* 'man, hero.' It was said that gradation as a means of word formation has been lost to our modern speech. Yet accent is still a modifying influence, and if words had not assumed a certain fixity we might still find them dividing and subdividing into independent forms. There are in fact a few examples of this influence in the history of English, as *off—of*, *too—to*, the two forms in each case springing from a single root.

130. While gradation is no longer a living force in the formation of new words, there is in the history of English and some other Teutonic languages a means somewhat analogous to it, which has really resulted in an enlargement of our English vocabulary. No one unacquainted with our older language, or with the details of English etymology, would recognize that the pairs, *whole—heal*, *lode—lead*, *foul—(de)file*, were variants of single roots. Yet the different vowels of these words are owing to a regular vowel variation called mutation, a fuller discussion of which will be found in a subsequent chapter, § 246. Mutation has therefore been for English a means by which words, originally connected in root, have been separated into forms now usually regarded as independent and unconnected. It has therefore been an indirect means of increasing the English vocabulary. For though mutation was operative only in the Old English period, the effects of it are still seen in numerous pairs of words derived from single roots.

131. There still remains one other way in which the vocabulary of a language may be enlarged, and one pre-

eminently important for English. This is word borrowing, or the adoption and use of words from a foreign language. Borrowing of foreign words is due to more or less direct contact of one nation with another. The slightest direct contact of two peoples in a friendly or hostile manner might easily lead to the adoption by each of at least the name of the other nation. More intimate association would usually result in borrowings limited only by the barriers that custom and use should set. The Romans borrowed Greek words because the Latin people was dominated by Greek ideals in literature, art, and culture. The modern nations of western Europe, owing to the spread of Latin Christianity, to the use of Latin as a common language of culture, and to the great classical, mainly Latin, revival of learning, have borrowed extensively from the language of the Roman Empire. The English, owing primarily to the conquest by French invaders and ever since to more or less intimate relations, have borrowed largely from the French language. Finally, we have the phenomenon in modern times of such a nation as the English drawing upon Latin and Greek, with which there has been no actual contact, for scientific and technical terms, many of these being coined by putting together words or parts of words not so united in the original language. As to this tendency to borrow and use foreign words, however, nations have radically differed. Some have with much freedom adopted words from all languages with which there has been the slightest contact. The conservatism of others has withstood incorporation of any considerable loan element even from the most friendly nation. The first class has one of its most

striking examples in English, while to the second class belongs modern German. The importance of the foreign element in the English vocabulary makes it necessary to consider with some care the classes of words borrowed, the manner of their introduction, and their relation to the native speech.

132. Whatever may be the ultimate effect of foreign influence upon a language, the first effect is undoubtedly upon the extent of its vocabulary. Moreover, the first class of words to be borrowed would be nouns, or name words. This is natural, since the exchange of commodities, the first evidence of contact between two peoples, would naturally lead to the borrowing of names for the commodities exchanged. With long continued and more intimate contact one nation might adopt from another ideas, customs, even forms of religion, law, and government. This would also result in the adoption of new words unless the conservatism of the language, withstanding this tendency, should make old words or new compounds within the speech serve instead of words from the foreign tongue. In more advanced stages of civilization, travel or books of travel, and translations of various kinds may have their influence in the introduction of new words. A new science may also be adopted together with the scientific nomenclature from the nation of which the loan is made. Or it may become the custom of one nation to borrow names for new inventions, new sciences or new arts springing up, instead of coining names from the old word-stock.

133. Foreign influences so far mentioned would account for the borrowing of new names of objects and ideas, or nouns, and names of actions, or verbs. Besides, intimate association of two peoples may result in borrowing some words describing nouns, or adjectives as we call them. This would be natural since adjectives are logically the names of qualities, or attributes, and are for this reason grouped in the mind with names of things and of actions. But it is evident from a regard to the nature of words, that nouns will be borrowed most readily and in largest numbers, while verbs and adjectives will follow in the order named. Considering the nature of other parts of speech, it is clear that only the closest contact of two peoples through a considerable period could result in the borrowing of such words as pronouns, numerals, adverbs, and particles. These are so fundamentally a part of speech, so unobtrusive in use, and they have besides so slightly the name character, that they would be the last to be given up by one people, or borrowed by another. But if borrowing from these classes of words should take place, it would probably first affect pronouns, since these partake most of the name character. On the other hand, the chances that a particle would be adopted from one language by another are exceedingly small, although such a thing is by no means impossible if the intercourse between two nations is sufficiently intimate. To illustrate both of these we may note that, owing to the conquest and settlement of the Danes in England, the Norse forms of the pronoun *they, their*, came into English, § 385. By the influence of French also the interjection *alas* became a part of

our present speech. Yet of such words the number borrowed in any language is exceedingly small, and the proof of such borrowing should be unquestioned before it is accepted.

134. In considering the growth of the English vocabulary we have pointed out two means of increase which still remain living forces: first, word formation by means of affixes or by composition in the strict sense; and second, word-borrowing. This is in addition to occasional original creation, which is too slight a force to be taken into account. It is natural to inquire which of the two methods of enlarging a vocabulary is to be preferred. This is suggested especially by much that is still said as to the corruption of English by the introduction of the foreign element. To this question it may be said that, from the standpoint of language, one word is as good as another if it expresses equally well the meaning intended. But a word newly introduced is not as good as an older word because it cannot express the intended meaning to all. If, however, the borrowed word becomes established in usage until it conveys to all the same meaning, there can be no doubt that it is equally useful with the word belonging to the native speech. It may be pointed out also, that a word newly formed within the language by composition is not at once understood or accepted by all, any more than one newly borrowed. Hence the word newly coined from the native vocabulary, as truly as the borrowed word itself, receives its sanction from usage alone. All this by no means argues in favour of indiscriminate borrowing, but from it the reasonable inference seems to be that a foreign word, once adopted and established, need not be discriminated against.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NATIVE ELEMENT IN ENGLISH.

135. In tracing the history of the English vocabulary the native element must first be assigned its true place. For so large is the number of foreign words in English, that from a certain point of view it might at first be supposed our language had lost its Teutonic character. If, for example, we compute the foreign element in one of our English dictionaries, it will be found to be far in excess of the number of native words. For this reason we should not overlook the fact that the Teutonic element still holds a fundamental place, not only in the language of common life but in the best literature. It forms the basis of all good speaking and writing, since the foundation and framework of the sentence is always and inevitably Teutonic. Moreover, the native element persists even in those writers most under the influence of foreign styles, so that it may be said, however the estimate is made, that every English writer uses considerably more than a majority of Teutonic words. This is shown by exact computations of the native and foreign elements in various authors, the results of which are summarized below. The table is mainly from *Lectures on the English Language* by George P. Marsh, the authors being placed in chronological order. These percentages might be slightly

changed by counting some words not hitherto regarded as foreign, but they would not be materially altered.

Authors.	Native.	Foreign.
Spenser	86%	14%
Shakespeare	90	10
Bible (Three Gospels)	94	6
Milton	81	19
Addison	82	18
Swift	75	25
Pope	80	20
Johnson	72	28
Hume	73	27
Gibbon	70	30
Macaulay (Essay on Bacon)	75	25
Tennyson	88	12

136. The estimates here made are obtained by counting each word, whether native or foreign, as often as it occurs. By counting the number of different words, each different word being taken but once, the foreign percentage becomes much larger; but this is manifestly unfair to the Teutonic element, since the native words include all minor divisions as pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, besides simple nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and these must be used much more frequently than foreign words, which belong almost wholly to the last three classes. The same is true of any estimate based upon the number of different words in the dictionary, since the dictionary includes many foreign words used in special departments of knowledge and not belonging to the best speech, or to literature. Besides, the dictionaries do not as a rule give place to numerous Teutonic compounds which are an important part of the language itself and would, if estimated, largely increase the percent-

age of native words, § 140. Moreover, while all or nearly all the foreign words of specialists in various departments are included, many native words of the trades and of common life do not occur at all. Taking all these facts into account, the native element, estimated from the dictionary as about twenty-five per cent, would doubtless be increased to a third, possibly a half.

137. In any case, it may be fairly contended that the only true way to estimate the relation of the native to the foreign element is to consider the two as actually used in speaking and writing. This may be best shown by short extracts in which the foreign element of whatever kind is put in italics. The aim will be to include as nearly as possible one hundred words of connected English prose or verse, so that the exact proportion of native and foreign words may be more easily estimated.

CHAUCER.

"Whan that *Aprille* with hise shoures soote
The droghte of *Marche* hath *perced* to the roote,
And bathed every *veyne* in swich *licour*,
Of which *vertu engendred* is the *flour*;
Whan *Zephirus* eek with his swete breeth
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
The *tendre* croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe *cours* y-ronne,
And smale fowles maken *melodye*,
That slepen al the night with open ye, —
So priketh hem *nature* in hir *corages*, —
Than longen folk to goon on *pilgrimages*
And *palmers* for to seken *straunge* strondes
To ferne halwes couth in sondry londes."

Prologue, lines 1-14.

SPENSER.

"A *gentle* Knight was pricking on the *plaine*,
Yclad in mightie *armes* and silver shielde,
Wherein old dints of deepe woundes did *remaine*,
The *cruel* markes of many a bloody fielde;
Yet *armes* till that time did he never wielde.
His *angry* steede did chide his foming bit,
As much *disdayning* to the *curbe* to yield:
Full *jolly* knight he seemd, and faire did sit
As one for knightly *giusts* and *fierce encounters* fit.

"And on his brest a bloodie *crosse* he bore,
The deare *remembrance* of his dying Lord,
For whose sweete sake that *glorious badge* he wore
And dead, as living, ever him *ador*'d."

Faerie Queen, Canto I, lines 1–13.

SHAKESPEARE.

"I, thus *neglecting* worldly ends, all *dedicated*
To *close*ness and the bettering of my mind
With that which, but by being so *retired*,
O'er *prized* all *popular rate*, in my *false* brother
Awaked an evil *nature*; and my *trust*,
Like a good *parent*, did beget of him
A *false*hood in its *contrary* as great
As my *trust* was; which had indeed no *limit*
A *confidence sans* bound. He being thus lorded,
But what my *power* might else *exact*, like one
Who having into truth by telling of it
Made such a sinner of his *memory*,
To *credit* his own lie, he did believe
He was indeed the *duke*."

Tempest, I, ii, 89–103.

BACON.

"'What is truth?' said *jesting Pilate*; and would not *stay* for an answer. *Certainly* there be that *delight* in giddiness; and *count* it a *bondage* to fix a belief; *affecting* free-will in thinking as well as in *act-*

ing. And though the *sect* of *philosophers* of that kind be gone, yet there *remain certain discoursing* wits which are of the same *veins*, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the *ancients*. But it is not only the *difficulty* and *labour* which men *take* in finding out of truth; nor again, that when it is found it *imposeth* upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in *favour*; but a *natural* though *corrupt* love of the lie itself." — *Essay on Truth*.

MILTON.

"O *Prince*, O *chief* of many *throned powers*,
That led the *embattled seraphim* to war
Under thy *conduct*, and, in dreadful deeds
Fearless, *endangered* heaven's *perpetual* king,
And put to *proof* his high *supremacy*,
Whether upheld by strength, or *chance*, or *fate*;
Too well I see and rue the *dire event*,
That with sad overthrow and foul *defeat*
Hath lost us heaven and all this mighty *host*
In *horrible destruction* laid thus low,
As far as gods and heavenly *essences*
Can *perish*: for the mind and *spirit remains*
Invincible, and *vigour* soon *returns*,
Though all our *glory extinct*, and happy *state*
Here swallowed up in endless *misery*."

Paradise Lost, I, 128–142.

DRYDEN.

"It was that *memorable* day in the first summer of the late war, when our *navy engaged* the *Dutch*; a day wherein the two most mighty and best *appointed* fleets which any *age* had ever seen, *disputed* the *command* of the greater half of the *globe*, the *commerce* of *nations*, and the *riches* of the *universe*: while these *vast* floating bodies, on either side, *moved* against each other in *parallel* lines, and our countrymen, under the happy *conduct* of his *royal* highness, went breaking by little and little into the *rank* of the *enemies*; the *noise* of the *cannon* from both *navies* reached our ears about the *city*, so that all men being *alarmed* with it,

and in a dreadful *suspense* of the *event* which *they* knew was then *decid*ing, everyone went following the *sound* as his *fancy* led him." — *Essay of Dramatic Poesie.*

SWIFT.

" In these books is wonderfully *instill*ed and *preserv*ed the *spirit* of each *warrior*, while he is alive; and after his death his soul *transmigrates* there to *inform* them. This at least is the more *common opinion;* but I believe it is with *libraries* as with other *cemeteries;* where some *philosophers affirm*, that a *certain spirit*, which *they* call *brutum hominis*, hovers over the *monument*, till the body is *corrupt*ed, and *turns* to dust or to worms, but then *vanishes* or *dissolves;* so, we may say, a restless *spirit haunts* over every book till dust or worms have *seiz*ed upon it." — *The Battle of the Books.*

POPE.

" Not with more *glories* in the *ethereal plain*,
The sun first rises o'er the *purpl*ed *main*,
Then, *issu*ing forth, the *rival* of his beams
*Launch*ed on the bosom of the silver'd *Thames*.
Fair *nymphs* and well-*dress*ed youths around her shone,
But every eye was *fix*'d on her alone.
On her white breast a sparkling *cross* she wore
Which *Jews* might kiss, and *infidels adore*.
Her lively looks a *sprightl*y mind *disclose*,
Quick as her eyes and as un*fix*ed as those:
Favours to none, to all she smiles *extends;*
Oft she *rejects* but never once *offends*.
Bright as the sun, her eyes the *gaz*ers strike
And like the sun they shine on all alike."

The Rape of the Lock, Canto II, 1–14.

JOHNSON.

" Here the sons and daughters of *Abyssinia* lived only to know the soft *vicissitudes* of *pleasure* and *repose*, *attend*ed by all that were *skil*ful to *delight*, and *gratifi*ed with whatever the *sense* can *enjoy*. They *wander*ed in *gardens* of *fragrance*, and slept in the *fortresses* of *security*. Every art was *practis*ed to make them *pleas*ed with their own *condition*.

The *sages* who *instruct*ed them, told them of nothing but the *miseries* of *public* life, and *describ*ed all beyond the *mountains* as *regions* of *calamity*, where *discord* was always *rag*ing, and where man *prey*ed upon man." — *Rasselas*, Chapter 2.

COWPER.

"Know*ledge* and wisdom, far from being one,
Have ofttimes no *connection*. Know*ledge* dwells
In heads *replete* with thoughts of other men,
Wisdom in minds *attentive* to their own.
Know*ledge*, a *rude* un*profitable mass*,
The *mere materials* with which wisdom *builds*
Till smoothed and *squar*ed and *fitt*ed to its *place*,
Does but *encumber* whom it seems to *enrich*.
Know*ledge* is proud that he has learned so much,
Wisdom is *humble* that he knows no more.
Books are not seldom *talismans* and spells
By which the *magic art* of shrewder wits
Holds an unthinking *multitude* enthrall'd."

The Task — Winter Walk at Noon, 88–100.

WORDSWORTH.

"For I have learned
To look on *nature*, not as in the *hour*
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still, sad *music* of *humanity*,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of *ample power*
To *chast*en and *subdue*. And I have felt
A *presence* that *disturbs* me with the *joy*
Of *elevat*ed thoughts; a *sense sublime*
Of something far more deeply *interfus*ed,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the *round ocean* and the living *air*,
And the blue *sky*, and in the mind of man:
A *motion* and a *spirit*, that *impels*
All thinking things, all *objects* of all thoughts
And *rolls* through all things."

Lines on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye.

DE QUINCEY.

"The *silence* was more *profound* than that of midnight: and to me the *silence* of a summer morning is more *touch*ing than all other *silence*, be*cause*, the light being broad and strong as that of *noon*day at other *seasons* of the year, it seems to *differ* from *perfect* day *chief*ly be*cause* man is not yet abroad, and thus the *peace* of *nature* and of the *innocent creatures* of God, seems to be *secure* and deep only so long as the *presence* of man, and his un*quiet spirit*, are not there to *trouble* its *sanctity*." — *Confessions of an Opium Eater.*

MACAULAY.

"Johnson *decid*ed *literary questions* like a lawyer, not like a *legislator*. He never *examin*ed *foundations* where a *point* was already *rul*ed. His whole *code* of *criticism* rested on *pure assumption*, for which he sometimes quoted a *precedent* or an *authority*, but *rarely trouble*d himself to give a *reason* drawn from the *nature* of things. He took it for *grant*ed that the kind of *poetry* which *flourish*ed in his own time, which he had been *accustom*ed to hear *prais*ed from his childhood, and which he had himself written with *success*, was the best kind of *poetry*. In his *biographical* work he has *repeat*edly laid it *down* as an un*deniable proposition* that *dur*ing the latter *part* of the seventeenth *century*, and the earlier *part* of the eighteenth, English *poetry* had been in a *constant progress* of *improvement*." — *Essay on Boswell's Johnson.*

TENNYSON.

"And slowly answered *Arthur* from the *barge*:
'The old *order change*th, yielding *place* to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good *custom* should *corrupt* the world.
Comfort thyself: what *comfort* is in me?
I have lived my life, and that which I have done
May He within Himself make *pure*! but thou,
If thou shouldst never see my *face* again,
Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by *prayer*
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy *voice*
Rise like a *fountain* for me night and day.'"

Morte D'Arthur.

138. The examples just cited show the preponderance of native English words in the language of literature. If we could in a similar manner test the colloquial vocabulary of individuals, we should find without doubt a still larger proportion of native words in most cases. Such would undoubtedly be the case if we should compare, for instance, the conversational usage of such a man as Samuel Johnson with his published writings. This emphasizes the point that the literary language, as also the technical language of the scientist, compared with the language of common life gives undue prominence to the foreign element. It is no doubt also true that we might find speech areas in which the borrowed words form a much smaller proportion than in the conversation of educated people. It will be seen, therefore, that even the vocabulary of English, except from the somewhat misleading standpoint of the dictionary, is far more a Teutonic speech than is often implied by estimates of its borrowed material.

139. A comparison of the native and foreign elements in the selections just given makes prominent one other point of importance in connection with the Teutonic words in our present speech. It has been already said that the native element is the foundation and framework of English in use. It may be pointed out also, that the native element bears a definite relation to simplicity and force of expression. This will be seen by a comparison of the large monosyllabic element included in the native words of the selections above. The loss of inflections which has reduced our language from a synthetic to an analytic speech,

has also largely increased the monosyllabic element in the vocabulary. This being so, it may be said in general that the larger the proportion of native words in a given author, the larger the proportion of short, simple, strong words, and the more concise, clear, and forcible the style. It is not meant by this that there are no monosyllables in the borrowed element, § 169, or that clearness and force depend exclusively on native words, § 134, but only that a larger proportion of the native element is monosyllabic.

140. By far the most considerable change in the native element of our English vocabulary pertains to the formation of words. A comparison with English in its oldest form, and with other Teutonic dialects, shows that our language no longer forms new compounds as freely as of old or new words by the use of native prefixes and suffixes. That is, one form of word formation possessed by Teutonic and still retained by modern German, has been largely lost to English. For example, *telescope*, *telegraph*, which we have made from Greek words, are supplied in German by native compounds, *Fernglas* 'far-glass,' and *Fernschreiber* 'far-writer.' Yet it must be pointed out that, while this means of word formation is largely lost to English, it is not wholly so nor as largely as might be supposed from our manner of writing. Many strict compounds, as shown by inflection and syntax, are not recognized as such because of no mark of union. For example, such a noun as *rose* is a part of numerous compounds, as *rose apple*, *rose bug*, *rose burner*, *rose camphor*, *rose campion*, and many others not recognized as compound words by our dictionaries or usually by

speakers and readers of English. Such a verb as *look* also forms true compounds with various adverbs, as in the verb phrases *look at, look away, look in* (*into*), *look out, look up.* Besides it may be noted that the formation of such compounds is more common in poetry, which preserves in this as in other respects an older language than prose.

141. The loss of the capability of forming compounds in English has been attended also by the loss of many compounds originally belonging to the language. These have often been replaced by foreign words, even when both parts of the compound are still retained in English. Some examples in modern English spelling of older compounds not now preserved, are *wan-hope* 'despair'; *wan-trust* 'suspicion'; *learning-knight* 'disciple, pupil'; *rime-craft* 'arithmetic'; *gold-hoard* 'treasure'; *book-hoard* 'library.' This loss of original compounds which undoubtedly had great expressiveness in themselves, has been variously regarded at different times. Some, without considering the real nature of language, have felt that English has been greatly crippled by the loss. But to these it may be said that the change has come about naturally, owing to the analytical tendency of the language itself; that the place of lost compounds has been supplied by other expressions which have been sanctioned by usage, and the regret which has been sometimes expressed is therefore unnecessary and unwise.

142. Compounds thus far referred to have been made by the union of independent words. In Old English, as in other languages of the Teutonic group, compounds were also freely made by the use of formative affixes. Thus Old

English employed the prefixes *a-*, *and-*, *after-*, *be-*, *ed-*, *for-*, *forth-*, *ge-*, *mid-*, *mis-*, *of-*, *on-*, *or-*, *oð-*, *to-*, *un-*, *under-*, *up-*, *with-*, *wan-*, and others. We still have words with many of these prefixes, although we should not recognize them in some cases, and the number is much smaller than it once was. Moreover, only three or four of these prefixes are still used to form new words even occasionally, while only the negative *un-* can be said to be commonly used. For example, we have *beset*, *besiege*, *become*, *believe*, *behead* in good use, but we do not use the prefix *be-* in coining new words, except occasionally and these are not usually stable compounds. So we have *withhold*, *withstand*, *withdraw*, by the use of *with* in the Old English sense of 'against, from,' but we have lost *wiðbycgean* 'to buy back,' *wiðcleopian* 'to recall,' *wiðcweðan* 'to contradict,' and many others found in Old and Middle English. In a similar way many Old English suffixes have been wholly lost or are used but seldom. Of the nine Old English noun suffixes still retained, *-dom*, *-er*, *-hood* (*head*), *-ing*, *-kin*, *-ling*, *-ness*, *-ship*, *-ster*, only *-er* and *-ness* are used with considerable frequency. Others are used occasionally in making unstable compounds. The adjective suffixes remaining from Old English, *-ed*, *-en*, *-fold*, *-full*, *-ish*, *-less*, *-ly*, *-some*, *-y*, are more frequently used, although not so frequently as in earlier times. Besides, the Old English verbal suffixes, except that of the weak preterit, are no longer used in forming new verbs.

143. While English has lost to a greater extent than some other Teutonic languages the power of forming compounds

freely, this did not take place until after the incorporation of many foreign words. We see this from the number of compounds in every-day use, made up partly of English and partly of borrowed words. These are called hybrids, because they are made from words of two languages. For example, the prefix *a-* in *around* is English, as in *along*, *away*, but *round* is French. Similarly, *because* is made of an English prefix *be-* and French *cause*. Other hybrids of similar composition are *fore-front*, *out-cry*, *over-power*, *unable*. More numerous are words in which an English suffix has been added to a French noun or adjective, and the custom of making such compounds still continues to some extent. Examples of familiar words of this sort are *aimless*, *duke-dom*, *false-hood*, *court-ship*, *plenti-ful*, *dainti-ness*, *trouble-some*, *genial-ly*. Besides these hybrids in which one part is an affix, there are some true compounds, each part of which is also an independent word. For example, in *black-guard*, *life-guard*, *salt-cellar*, the first is English and the second French; while in *eyelet-hole*, *heir-loom*, *hobby-horse*, *scape-goat*, the first is French and the second English. It is natural that the largest number of hybrids should be made up of French and English words, since the largest addition from any single source is from the French. But there are hybrids made up of words from other sources. Thus *bandy-legged* is French and Scandinavian, as is also *partake* for **part-take*; *juxta-position* is Latin and French, *interloper* Latin and Dutch, *marigold* Hebrew and English; while *mac-adam-is-ed*, is Gaelic, Hebrew, French, and English.[1]

[1] Skeat, *Principles of English Etymology*, First Series, pp. 430, 431.

144. Besides certain characteristic changes in the English vocabulary already mentioned, there have been some that may occur in the natural development of any language. One of these, peculiarly interesting in English, is the obscuration of compounds. This obscuration of the compound, or loss of identity of the separate parts, results from loss of stress. Sometimes also, the idea of the compound being lost, one part is obscured by ordinary sound changes. The change is by no means peculiar to one branch of the Indo-European family or indeed to the family itself. Within the family, for example, the theory of inflectional forms supposes original roots to which have been added suffixes, themselves originally independent words but later modified by the same processes that have changed the form of compounds in English. It may be noted also that the English suffixes *-dom*, *-hood*, *-ship*, were independent words in the oldest period, although they have entirely lost this character since Old English times.

145. English has many of these obscure compounds, some examples of which will suffice for illustration.[1] Some still preserve a syllable for the word obscured, while others originally of two or more syllables are now monosyllabic. Of the first sort are *bridal*, OE. *brȳd-ealu*, 'bride-feast'; *brimstone*, ME. *brenston*, 'burning-stone'; *cranberry* for **craneberry*, like German *Kranbeere*. Two common words of the same sort are *daisy*, OE. *dæges-ēage*, 'day's eye,' and *darling*, OE. *dēorling*, allied to English *dear*. The change in *dar-* < *dēor* is also seen in *starboard*,

[1] For a longer list see Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, I, p. 420.

OE. *stēorbord*, 'steering-side.' *Goodbye* is a familiar case of an obscure compound, the word standing for the formula 'God be wi' ye,' or, as has been also proposed, for 'God be by ye.' The syllable *God* also occurs in *gossip*, ME. *godsib*, 'related in God, a sponsor,' possibly also in *gospel*, 'god's spell.' Even greater obscuration is seen in *hussy*, OE. *hūswīf*, 'house wife'; *woman*, OE. *wīfman*; *orchard*, OE. *orceard*, *ortgeard*, 'plant yard.' An example of the second sort mentioned above is *lord*, OE. *hlāford* < **hlāf weard* 'loaf ward,' the syllable *hlāf* also occurring in *lady*, OE. *hlāf-dige*, 'loaf-kneader.' Our word *yes* is for *yea so*, OE. *gēse* (**gē-swā*), while *world* is made up of *wer* 'man' and *ældu* 'age,' so that it originally meant 'the age of man.'

146. Another change common to all languages is that by which homonyms are produced. Homonyms are words from different roots which by sound changes, sometimes by contamination or the direct influence of one word upon another, have come to have the same phonetic form. The term is often incorrectly limited to words which have the same written form, as *bear* vb. and sb.; but *bare* the adjective is equally a homonym with these two. The number of homonyms in English is considerable and they sometimes cause confusion in interpretation. Usually, however, the context fully indicates the word meant, so that this oft-used argument against phonetic spelling is really of no considerable force. The examples of homonyms already cited, *bear* sb., *bear* vb., *bare* adj., are all Teutonic. Other Teutonic homonyms are *blow* vb., *blow* sb. 'flower,' *blow* 'stroke'; *can* vb., *can* sb.; *hide* vb., *hide* 'skin,' *hide* 'measure of

land.' Confusion in interpretation due to homonyms was mentioned above. This may be exemplified by the homonyms *dear* adj., *deer* sb. With these there should be classed also another adjective *dear* 'dreadful,' as in 'her dearest foe.' The usual attempt to explain this word as from *dear* 'beloved' is incorrect, for in reality, *dear* in such expressions is a preservation of an Old English adjective *dēore* with the signification 'dreadful,' as above. The latter word is not common now, except perhaps in the colloquialism *dear me*, but was preserved to the time of Shakespeare.

147. Some purely English homonyms are due to confusion of forms, or contamination. Thus *abide* 'wait for' is the proper phonetic descendant of OE. *abīdan;* but *abide* 'suffer' is from OE. *ābycgan* 'pay for,' ME. *abyen*, by confusion with the word before. So *bid* 'pray' and *bid* 'command' are by confusion of two verbs, OE. *biddan* and *bēodan*, § 423. In many cases homonyms result from borrowing a word similar in form to one of native origin; but the discussion of these and of homonyms exclusively foreign belongs to a consideration of the foreign element, § 192.

148. Another change affecting English as other languages is the formation of doublets; that is, a word may assume two different forms owing to difference in stress or to dialectal differences. Doublets due to difference in stress are *too—to*, both from OE. *tō; off—of* from OE. *of*. The adverb in each case cited preserves the older form of the word, since it retains more of stress in the sentence than the corresponding preposition. Doublets clearly due

to differences in dialect are *fat—vat* 'vessel.' The former, occurring in the Bible, is the true Midland and Northern English form of the word. The latter is rather from the Southern dialect, § 270. Similarly, *whole—hale, road —raid*, are dialectal doublets, the first in each case being the Midland, the second the Northern form. Some doublets are due to phonetic peculiarities that cannot be traced to differences in dialect, although they may have so originated. Here may be placed *emmet—ant, dent —dint, quid—cud, quitch—couch* in *quitch-grass—couch-grass*, both allied to *quick*. The last examples make it seem possible that *kill* is really connected with *quell*, although this is not the usual explanation of the word. Doublets of a somewhat different origin occur among foreign words. Cognate words in different languages for example are ultimately doublets, although not usually so called. Latin *collis* and English *hill*, Latin *quid* and English *what*, are cognates and therefore etymological doublets, since each pair springs from a common root in the primitive speech. But it is, perhaps, better to limit the term *doublets* to the sense in which it has been used in the preceding sections.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOREIGN ELEMENT IN ENGLISH.

149. We have pointed out in § 131 that borrowing of foreign words has been one important means by which the English vocabulary has been increased. The word-forming power originally belonging to English, has been lost to a certain extent through disuse; and on the other hand the conservatism which naturally shrinks from the acceptance of a foreign word has been largely broken down in the course of our history. It is right, therefore, that we should consider this borrowed element in the language and its relation to the native stock. In doing so, however, it will of course be impossible to enumerate a considerable proportion of the words that have been added to our language from foreign sources. We can only give some idea of their number and character. Even this is not without difficulties, for several reasons. In the first place, accurate studies of certain parts of the loan element in English have not yet been made, so that it is impossible to determine all words of foreign origin or the sources from which they come, while in some cases it is difficult to separate them from words that may have belonged to the native stock. This is especially true of the Norse and Celtic loan elements, but it is also true to some extent of Spanish, Italian, and other later borrowings.

Again, we may reasonably suppose the literature of a period may not contain all the words actually borrowed at that time, just as the literature of to-day does not contain all the words now found in English. Moreover, words introduced at an early time may not appear in literature until a much later period; or, in some cases, foreign words actually used may finally pass out of existence without leaving a single trace in the written language. It is therefore difficult to determine the borrowed words of a particular period, or the period of borrowing in the case of a particular word, although both of these are important to a consideration of words from foreign sources.

150. Moreover, many other factors enter into the determination of the exact source of borrowed words. For instance, a word may have been introduced at one time and later displaced by another foreign word, so that our Modern English form cannot be said to be due to the first introduction. Such for example is the word *angel*. The Latin form of this word was borrowed into Old English, becoming *engel* by regular Old English sound changes. If this had remained in use, it would now be pronounced like the similar German word, *engel*, or possibly *eng-gel*. But it was later replaced by a new form, *angel*, from Old French, which has become by regular changes our modern word. Or again, it is of the utmost importance to determine, if possible, the immediate source from which a word came into English. A Greek or a Persian word may have entered through Latin or French. Words of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese origin have often come to us

through French rather than directly from those languages. This immediate source of the borrowing is important, since upon it the form of the loan word will largely depend, and therefore to leave this out of account omits a vital point in the discussion.

151. All these facts indicate that a consideration of the loan material in a language is not easy. Indeed, a complete discussion of the borrowed element in English is impossible at this time, owing to the lack of accurate studies of the loan material, although some idea of its character, as well as of the time of its introduction, may be given with sufficient accuracy for general purposes. It should be said at the start that, in discussing the loan material, we shall leave out of account entirely words occurring in Old or Middle English but lost to the modern speech.

The Classical Element.

152. In point of time, the first loan element to be considered is the Latin. The first Latin words in the language were borrowed before our Teutonic forefathers left the continent or thought of settling upon the island of Britain. For we know from the testimony of the Roman historians, corroborated by the evidence of language, that there was no slight intercourse between the Teutonic peoples and the Latin race before any of the former had left their continental home. Just how many Latin words our Teutonic ancestors brought with them from the continent is difficult to say with certainty, but it is fair to suppose that the Latin words found in the oldest English in common with the

Teutonic languages on the continent, probably belong to the earliest Latin influence. Here Kluge[1] places the present English *chalk*, OE. *cealc* < Lat. *calcem*; *kettle*, perhaps a Northern form from OE. *cetel* < Lat. *catillus*; *mint*, OE. *mynet* < Lat. *moneta*; *crisp* (?), OE. *crisp* < Lat. *crispus*; *short*, OE. *sceort* < Lat. *excurtus*. Without much doubt some other words belong with these, as *Saturday*, *coulter* (of a plow), *fuller* (of cloth), possibly *anchor* and *ark*.

153. A few Latin words were received from the Britons themselves, who had in turn acquired them from the Romans during the time of the Roman occupation. We have already shown in the chapter on the Old English Period how considerable was the Roman civilization existing on British soil, so that it would not be strange if a number of Latin words had been left among the Celts, some of them to be later incorporated into English. On the other hand, the slight influence of Celtic upon English, § 158, shows that we must not expect too many Latin words from this source, however much may have been the influence of the Latin upon the Celtic in this early time. Moreover, it is difficult to separate the Latin of this source from that which came before and that which came after. The words most likely to be incorporated into English are place-names left by the Romans among the Celts. One of these is *Chester*, OE. *ceaster* < Lat. *castra*. The syllable *-coln*, in *Lincoln*, may also be from Latin *colonia*, although some doubt has been recently thrown upon this.

[1] Geschichte der englischen Sprache, in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, I, p. 780.

The first word also forms part of many place-names, as the northern *Lancaster*, *Doncaster*, and the southern *Winchester*, *Rochester*. Such forms as *Leicester*, *Worcester*, *Gloucester*, also contain Latin *castra* much obscured by phonetic changes. Kluge also places among Latin words coming through the Celts, *lake*, OE. *lacu* < Lat. *lacus*; *mount*, OE. *munt* < Lat. *montem*; *port*, OE. *port* < Lat. *portus*. Skeat adds to the list *mile*, OE. *mīl* < Lat. *milia*; *street*, OE. *strēt* < Lat. *strāta* (*via*); *wall*, OE. *wal* < Lat. *vallum*; *wick*, OE. *wīc* < Lat. *vīcus*; *wine*, OE. *wīn* < Lat. *vīnum*.

154. The most considerable Latin influence on the vocabulary of Old English was due to that contact with the Latin race which began with the conversion of the English to Christianity just at the end of the sixth century. The story, as Bede tells it, is too well known to need repetition: how Gregory the priest saw the fair-haired Angles in the Roman slave market; how years afterwards, when Pope, the same Gregory sent Augustine to England with a band of missionaries; and how the English gave up their gods for the new worship. This adoption of a new religion not only brought immediate contact with Latin Christianity and the Latin Christian literature, but direct intercourse was in consequence established with the continental peoples. As a natural result many ecclesiastical terms were introduced into English, while many words not belonging to the church also became common in every-day life. These words, it will be seen, are almost exclusively nouns, although a few verbs and adjectives also occur.

This confirms what has already been said of the kinds of words borrowed, § 133. The lists below are based largely on Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, First Series, p. 441, with some changes both of addition and subtraction.

1. Church words: *alb*, *alms* § 159, *altar*, *archbishop*, *bishop*, *candle*, *church*, *creed*, *cowl*, *deacon*, *devil*, *font*, *martyr*, *mass*, *minster*, *monk*, *noon*, *nun*, *organ*, *pall*, *pasch*, *pope*, *priest*, *psalm*, *shrine*, *temple*.

2. Trees and plants: *beet*, *box*, *chervil*, *fennel*, *feverfew*, *gladen* 'sword grass,' *lily*, *mallow*, *mint*, *mul-*(berry), *palm*, *pea*, *pear*, *pepper*, *periwinkle* (OE. *perwinca*), *pine*, *plant*, *plum*, *poppy*, *savine*, *spelt*.

3. Animal names: *capon*, *doe*, *lobster*, *mussel*, *pea-*(cock), *phœnix*, *trout*, *turtle-*(dove).

4. Miscellaneous: *butter*, *canker*, *cap*, *cheese*, *chest*, *cook*, *coop*(?), *copper*, *cup*, *dish*, *fan*, *fever*, *fiddle*, *fork*, *imp*, *inch*, *kiln*, *kitchen*, *linen*, *mat*, *mill*, *mortar*, *must* 'wine,' *pan*, *pilch*, *pile*, *pillow*, *pin*, *pit*, *pitch*, *plaster*, *pole*, *port*, *punt*, *sack*, *shambles*, *sickle*, *silk*, *sock*, *sole*, *strap* (*strop*), *tile*, *tippet*, *tun*, *tunic*.

5. Besides the above nouns there were also introduced the verbs *dight* 'prepared,' *offer*, *shrive*, *spend*, *stop*; and the adjectives *crisp* and *short*.

155. The Latin words so far given as making a part of English in the oldest period number one hundred and eight. Besides these, some other words are known to have been borrowed in this time, but these have passed out of existence or have been replaced by forms of later introduction. The

latter will be discussed in another place, § 190. We have thus far spoken only of the Latin words in the classical element; and this is right, since all the above words came to English from Latin. In reality, however, some of the words so far given are borrowed words in Latin, most of them being originally Greek though some are from other languages. Of Greek origin, for example, are many church words, as *alms*, *bishop*, *canon*, *church*, *deacon*, *devil*, *martyr*, *minster*, *monk*, *priest*, *psalm*, and others. *Pasch* and *sack* are originally Hebrew, and a few others might be traced to other sources. These last were first adopted into Greek, then became Latin, and finally English. All these words, it should be emphasized, were thoroughly incorporated into the speech, becoming subject to phonetic laws and other changes affecting native English words. They often appear in abbreviated forms, as *bishop*, Lat. *episcopus*. Or they may be affected by purely English sound changes, as shown by the mutated words *minster*, OE. *mynster*, Lat. *monasterium*; *mint*, OE. *mynet*, Lat. *moneta*, § 248.

156. Since Old English times there has been a gradual but constant adoption of Latin words. This has been due to the influence of Latin literature during the Middle Ages, and especially to the revival of learning which revolutionized the thought and culture of early modern Europe. In this connection, too, it should be remembered that the great classical revival of the fifteenth century was mainly, in its effect upon England at least, a Latin rather than a Greek revival. Perhaps as far as Middle English is concerned, special mention should also be made of the Latin transla-

tion of the Scriptures, or the Vulgate as it is called, since many Latin words entering English during the middle period may be traced to this source. In modern times Latin has been again drawn upon for scientific nomenclature. This is natural, since early scientists wrote in Latin — a custom followed by Bacon in his *Novum Organum*, and by Newton in his *Principia*. Besides, a Latin nomenclature has the special advantage of being understood by scientists all over the world, so that Latin has become a sort of common name-language for science. Few of such words have any place in the speech of common people, and those that have gained a foothold have been adopted from the language of the learned. It is impossible to estimate, far less enumerate, these later Latin words with absolute accuracy. Some idea of their character, however, may be gained from the list in the appendix to Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*. But even such a list must be tested, since it is always difficult to separate words of Latin origin from those that have come indirectly through the French or other Romance languages. Or some idea of the Latin element may be gained from the large number of words in English with Latin prefixes and suffixes; yet some of the latter also appear in Romance words.

157. As to Greek words in English, it has been already pointed out that all those entering in Old English times came through Latin. In Middle English times there was a similar borrowing of words ultimately Greek through Latin, and also to some extent through French. For it was not until the modern period that Greek began to affect the Eng-

lish vocabulary directly. The borrowing of Greek words in modern times has been mainly of learned and scientific terms. Yet some of the latter, though originally Greek, have come more directly from French, as *thermometer* < Fr. *thermomètre*, *barometer* < Fr. *baromètre*. A common manner of forming scientific names in English and some other modern languages is by combining two or more words or roots from Latin or Greek. Such words are not strictly borrowed in the usual sense, but are rather coined from borrowed material. Words thus coined do not always conform to classical models, but are often formed by analogy of similar words already a part of the English vocabulary. Thus by analogy of such words as *thermometer*, *barometer* with the connecting vowel *-o-*, such words as *dynamo-electric* and *dynamograph* have been formed, although the stem of the Greek word *dunamis* ends in *-i*, δύνα not *-o*. The etymology of such words is comparatively simple, except that in the case of late words it is not always easy to determine whether they have been coined in English or borrowed from some other modern language.

The Celtic Element.

158. Next to the earliest Latin influence in order of time is the influence of Celtic upon English. Yet this presents the greatest difficulty, since no study of the Celtic element in English has yet been made by any scholar capable of treating it with exactness. In the past the number of Celtic words in English has been usually overestimated, so that the tendency of recent study has been to lessen rather than to

increase the list. It is natural to expect from the subject Celts some influence upon the language of the English conquerors. On the other hand a subject race, if not wholly expelled or exterminated, becomes at best the servant or slave class, and its influence is often far less marked than might be supposed. Moreover the English did not come in small numbers, as did the Normans in comparison with them; but incursion followed incursion until the Celtic population was gradually driven out, killed, or swallowed up in the multitude of invaders. These circumstances tend to show that we may expect but slight influence by the original Britons on the speech we have inherited. Nevertheless some Celtic words that deserve notice have come down to us.

159. Examples of Celtic loan-words appearing in Old English and preserved until the present time are *bannock; brat* 'mantle, rag,' later 'child in rags'; *brock* 'badger'; *-comb* in place names, as *Hascombe*, where it has the meaning of 'hollow, valley'; *crock* (?); *down* 'hill'; *dun* (colour); *rock* (?); *mattock;* perhaps, *slough*. In addition to these, it is also thought that some words originally Latin have probably come to us in Celtic forms. For example, Kluge[1] cites *alms* as nearer Old Irish *almsan* than Latin *eleemosyne*. So the length of ī in *Christ*, OE. *crīst*, seems to show that the word came to us from the Celtic form with long *i* rather than from the Latin form with short *i*. These words could be accounted for as due to the influence of Irish Christianity on early England. A few common Celtic words do not appear in Old English but are known in the Middle English

[1] *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, I, p. 783.

period, as *bodkin*, *clan*. In the time of Shakespeare are found *bog*, *brogue*, *gallowglass*, *glib* sb., *kerne*, *shamrock*, *skein* (?), all from the Irish. A few Celtic words have come from the Scotch Gaelic, as *cairn*, *claymore*, *coronach*, *crag*, *glen*, *pibroch*, *slogan*, *whiskey*, some of which are literary words only and do not occur except in the language of books. Some Celtic words have also been borrowed from Welsh, but these are not many and the list is still uncertain. In fact as before mentioned, we must wait for more exact studies of Celtic, before anything like a complete list of Celtic words may be given with assurance.

160. By far the greatest influence of the Celtic upon English was upon names of places. This is natural, since place-names are commonly adopted in great numbers from the aboriginal inhabitants of a country. Celtic names are therefore found in all parts of England, though much more largely in the north and west and especially in Scotland and Ireland. These may be illustrated by some examples as follows: *aber* 'mouth' is found in *Aberdeen* 'mouth of the Dee,' *Aberfeldie*, *Abergeldie*; *bally* (*ball*) 'place' occurs in *Ballangleich*, *Ballanmahon*; *caer* 'castle' in *Caercolon*, *Caerleon*, 'castle of the legion'; *dun* 'a protected place' in *Dunbar*, *Dumbarton*, *Dundee*; *inch* 'island,' in *Inchcape*, *Inchcolon*; *inver* 'mouth of river' in *Inverary*, *Inverness*; *kill* 'church' in *Kildare*, *Kilkenny*, *Kilmarnoch*; *llan* 'holy' in *Llandaff*, *Llanfair*. Names of rivers, as *Avon*, *Usk* (*Ux*), and names of mountains, as *Pen*, *Ben*, are also common. Many more Celtic place-names might be given, but these are sufficient for illustration.

The Norse Element.

161. Chronologically the third loan element to become a part of the English language was owing to those incursions of the Danes, as they are usually called in English history. These began at the close of the eighth century, and continued until in the ninth century the Danes were established in Northumbria. From this part they spread rapidly over northern and eastern England, becoming so powerful that in the time of Alfred they were overlords of all the region north of the Thames. The well-known struggles of Alfred the Great with these Danish invaders give evidence of the strength of the Danish power, while conclusive proof of their importance in English history is furnished by the Danish dynasty which occupied the throne of England in the eleventh century. The Norse element in the English vocabulary has special significance, therefore, as marking the temporary union of two important divisions of the Teutonic race.

162. Yet the determination of the exact bounds of the Norse loan material is in some respects as difficult as in the case of the Celtic. The Danish conquerors, it is true, made no attempt to force their language upon the conquered English. Indeed in the main, as in the case of their Norman kinsmen on the continent, they gave up their own speech for the tongue of those with whom they united on English soil. Still, the language of the Danes was so like that of their English cousins that in the union of the two peoples many words were adopted by the English, or

the English form or meaning was modified by the Danish speech. For example our word *get*, if from the Mercian or southern dialects of Old English, would now be pronounced *yet* (*yit*) with initial *y*. The Danes, on the other hand, had the same word with initial *g* as in *gun*, so that we are forced to conclude the form of our word was influenced by that of the Danish invaders, unless the influence of Northern English may possibly account for it. Or to exemplify change of meaning, our word *dream* meant in Old English 'joy, pleasure,' never so far as we know from literature 'a vision of the night.' The Scandinavian word however had only this latter meaning, so that though we may regard the form of our word as English its significance is Norse. So powerful was the Danish influence that not only nouns, adjectives, and verbs were borrowed, but even pronominal forms, as *they*, *their*, possibly *them*, which are Norse rather than English. In addition to these one class of personal names, those ending in *-son*, as *Gibson*, *Johnson*, *Thomson*, are also of Norse origin, especially when they can be traced to the north of England.

163. Such examples as these, while indicating the importance of the Norse loan element in English, also show how difficult it may sometimes be to separate the Norse from the native words. The practical identity of the two in certain cases may be seen from the word *take*, which agreed so closely in form with verbs like *shake*, *forsake*, that it became one of our most familiar words, and would be least suspected of foreign origin. Now if we find such an English word in Norse and not in Old English, it is natural to

suppose it came in with the Danes. Yet it still remains possible that the word existed in Old English without appearing in any known writings. We have one such word in English *till* 'to.' It occurs in the hymn of Cædmon, one of the oldest monuments of English poetry, but it does not commonly occur until Middle English times except in Norse writings. This word, then, seems to be English in origin, although the frequency of present use may be due to Norse influence. There is still another particular which complicates the problem of the Norse loan element. Northern English was more like Norse in certain respects than Midland or Southern English, so that we may sometimes attribute to the Danish invaders words that have come to our modern standard speech from the Northern dialect of England.

164. While Norse words doubtless began to enter the spoken language in the time of the Danish supremacy, they entered but slowly as we should expect into the written language, and hence but few appear before the close of Old English times. Many more are found after 1200, and Norse words are not uncommon in Middle English literature, especially of the midland and northern divisions of England. The Norse words of Old English are found only in late entries of the *Chronicle*. Examples of those that have come down to modern times are *call, crave, fellow, haven, husband, hustings, knife, law, take, wrong*. Besides these, Skeat gives in his *Etymological Dictionary* some 500 other words of Norse origin, a number which may represent in general the extent of the Norse element. The latter does not compare

in number of words with the French or Latin element, but a glance at the list mentioned above shows that from no other foreign source have we received so large a proportion of simple, every-day words, as from the language of the Danish invaders.

165. It is impossible to give absolute criteria for the determination of Norse words in English, and those that are most certain depend upon a knowledge of Old English sounds and their development. But some indications of probable Norse origin may be given as follows:[1]—

1. In Teutonic words the sound combination *sk* (written *sk*, or *sc*) points to probable Norse origin, since genuine English words have instead an *sh* sound. Hence we may consider such words as *skin*, *sky*, *skill*, *scare*, *score*, *scald*, *bask*, *busk*, as borrowed from the Danes. From these Teutonic words must be separated Old French words with *sk* (written *sc*), as *scape*, *scan*, *scarce*.

2. Teutonic words with hard *g* or *k*, where genuine English words would have *y*, *j*, or *ch* sounds, may be regarded as of Norse origin. Thus our words *give*, *gift*, *get*, *guest* cannot be Midland English at least, since they would then have initial *y*. So such words as *drag*, *dregs*, *egg*, *flag*, *hug*, *keg*, *leg*, *log*, *rig*, are Norse rather than English, because they have final hard *g* instead of *y* or the *j* sound. Norse words with initial hard *k* are *keg*, *kid*, *kilt*, *kirtle*, perhaps also *kirk*, for these words if genuine Midland English would have *ch* in place of *k*, as in English *church*.

3. Teutonic words with *ei*, *ai*, where genuine English words would have OE. *ā*, *ǣ*, MnE. *ō*, *ea* (*ee*) are probably

[1] Geschichte der englischen Sprache, Paul's *Grundriss*, I, p. 791.

of Norse origin. Examples are *bait, hail* 'greet,' *raid, raise, sleigh, swain, they, their, wail.*

Even these criteria are subject to possible change in the future, since it may be that some of these words are rather Northern English than of Danish origin.

166. Attention has already been called to Norse personal names in English, as *Johnson.* The English patronymic suffix corresponding in meaning to the Danish *-son* is *-ing*, as in *Hasting-s, Birm-ing-ham.* Besides these personal names there are also English place-names of Norse origin, found especially in the north and east of England, the region of the old Danelagh. Norse place-names may be known especially from certain suffixes not found in English proper. These are *-by, -thorp, -thwaite, -toft*, all having the meaning 'village' or 'hamlet.' They occur in such place-names as *Whitby, Althorp, Lowestoft, Braithwaite*, and in personal names derived from them. Some English suffixes with similar meaning are *-ham, -tun* (*ton, town*), *-bury*, as in *Horsham, Alton, Canterbury.*

CHAPTER X.

THE FOREIGN ELEMENT IN ENGLISH (Continued).

THE FRENCH ELEMENT.

167. We now come to one of the most important of the foreign additions to our English vocabulary, that body of loan-words adopted because of the conquest of England by the Norman French and the subsequent intercourse between the two nations extending through the whole Middle English period. Certain misconceptions of the French influence have been already mentioned, yet notwithstanding these the French element in the English vocabulary is a large and important one. It has been customary to consider the French element as but one division of the Latin loan material, and so it is in the strictest etymological sense. On the other hand, we do not class Spanish or Italian as part of the Latin element, and with respect to English French is even more deserving of a separate division, because of the great number of French words in the language and the various times at which they have entered. Moreover, French is still a source from which words are sometimes drawn, so that on this account also it deserves separate treatment from Latin and from other Romance elements.

168. The French element, as already pointed out, has come into English at different times and from different causes. In general, it may be divided into three divisions as it comes from Norman French, from Parisian French in the Middle English period, or from Modern French in the modern period of English. The first of these, beginning with Edward the Confessor, continued its direct influence until the loss of Normandy in 1204, and its indirect influence through its literature somewhat longer. The second began with the last part of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century and continued to 1500, the beginning of the modern period. The third is from 1500 to the present time. The last period is so long that it might again be divided, the time of greatest French influence on Modern English being from the restoration of the Stuarts to the death of Pope, or from 1660 to 1744. Yet while it is comparatively easy to assign definite dates to these several periods of French influence, it is by no means so easy to determine the words belonging to the various divisions. For all words entering English during the Middle English period, from whatever French dialect, became subject to English sound laws and have a general likeness in form, while some words coming to us in the modern period have also become thoroughly anglicized. Besides, it is always difficult to determine the exact time at which a word came into the speech. We shall attempt, however, to give some idea of the distinguishing features of the early and late additions from French, as we have done with the classical element.

169. It has already been mentioned, that French words entering before modern times became fully assimilated to English, and have since been subject to English sound changes. On this account, as well as because the early borrowings from the French were in themselves simple, early French words, as distinguished from later introductions, are short and simple in character. This will be seen from an examination of the number of common, monosyllabic words derived from early French. Examples falling under the first three letters of the alphabet are *ache, age, air, arm* 'firearm,' *art, aunt, ball, balm, bar, base, beak, beast, beef, blame, boil, brace, branch, bray, breeze, brief, brush, cage, calm, cape, car, case, catch, cause, cease, cell, chain, chair, chance, change, chant, charge, chase, chaste, cheer, chief, choice, choir, claim, clause, clear, cloak, close, coast, coil, corpse, course, cost, court, coy, crest, crime, cry, cull.* In some cases both substantive and verb of the same form have been borrowed, as *arm, bar, blame, change, charge, cry,* virtually increasing the above list. All these, it will be seen, have become an integral part of the language, being as truly a part of common speech as words originally Teutonic.

170. A more certain test of early and late French words is based on differences in vowel and consonant sounds, due to differences between Old and Modern French. These may be exemplified by the following list, in which the first word in each case represents the sound of vowel or consonant in early, the second in late French. In some of these, as *feast—fête, suit—suite,* the words are etymological doublets; that is, the same word has been introduced both in its earlier and its later form, § 189.

a.	*rage—mirage.*	oi.	*coy—reservoir.*
e.	*feast—fête.*	ou.	*count—tour.*
i.	*vine—ravine.*	ui.	*suit—suite.*
o.	*bonny—chaperon.*		
o.	*affront—platoon.*	ch.	*chandler—chandelier.*
u.	*duty—debut.*	g.	*rage—rouge.*
au.	*cause—hautboy.*	j.	*just—jeu d'esprit.*
eau.	*beauty—beau.*	qu.	*quit—bouquet.*
eu.	*grandeur—connoisseur.*		

Even this test of sounds does not apply to all words, since some introduced very late have, by analogy of written forms, assumed the sounds of earlier borrowings. This is true, for example, of *g* and *j* in *legislative* and *cajole.* Yet the general accuracy of the test, based on difference in pronunciation, may be relied on.

171. In a few words, phonetic differences indicate differences in the dialects from which the early French words were borrowed. For example, certain words with *k* sound (written *c*) are doublets of other words with *ch*, and yet both belong to early French borrowings. Examples are *caldron—chaldron; capital—chapter; cark—charge; catch—chase; cattle—chattel; kennel* 'gutter'*—channel.* The explanation of these doublets is, that the words with *ch* came from Norman French, while those with the *k* sound are from another French dialect, as that of Picardy, in which are situated Cressy, Calais, and Boulogne, places well known in English as well as French history. The list is small however, and it would be but slightly increased if certain Middle English words, now obsolete, were added.

172. We have already pointed out in the chapter on the rise of Modern English, how mistaken it is to suppose that French displaced English during the Norman period, and how its influence in that time has been greatly exaggerated. This is also proved by the tardiness with which French words begin to appear in Middle English writings. Notwithstanding that Edward the Confessor, of Norman education and predilections, came to the throne in 1042, and the conquest itself took place some twenty years later, it is not until 1100 that French words begin to appear in English writings. Nor are they then by any means numerous. For example, the *Chronicle* entries during the first half of the twelfth century contain less than twenty French words. Layamon's *Brut*, with its 28,000 long lines, was based on a French poem by Wace. We possess two texts, one written about 1200 and one about 1250, yet in both the number of French words does not exceed 150. In all Middle English writings before 1250, the number of French words probably does not exceed 500. By the year 1300 some 1000 French words were used in written monuments; while in some thirty-one texts written before 1400, Skeat has discovered 3400 words of French origin. This number, however, includes many that have not been preserved to Modern English, since many French words have held but a temporary place in our English speech.[1] Or, we may estimate the French element as actually used in another way. In Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* the foreign element, mostly French, is twelve or thirteen per cent. If this be

[1] Skeat's lists will be found in the *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1882–84, App. IV, 1888–89, p. 112.

so, we may be sure the language of less widely read men of his time would show scarcely more than half as large a proportion.

173. It will be interesting to note the earliest French words becoming a part of the English language, while we can only characterize others in a general way. In the *Chronicle* already referred to, there occur in the entries from 1135 to 1154 some sixteen French words that have been preserved to modern times. These are: *castle, countess, court, empress, justice, miracle, peace, prison, privilege, procession, rent, standard, tower, treason, treasure, war.* An examination of these words may suggest some inferences as to early French words, and possibly correct some misconceptions. For example, it has been sometimes said that, "speaking broadly . . . all words expressing general notions, or generalizations, are French or Latin; while words that express specific actions, or concrete existences, are pure English." Such a statement however is scarcely based upon facts, nor is it consistent with the philosophy of language. From the very nature of borrowing in language, not abstract, but concrete, terms are most likely to be adopted by one language from another, since borrowed words come only with the things or ideas of which they are the names. Moreover, an examination of this short list of early French words shows only four, *justice, peace, privilege, treason,* or one-quarter of the whole, that may be called abstract in any sense. The same is essentially true of early Latin words and of French words borrowed before modern times. Of course, late borrowings

of scientific and philosophical terms belong to a different category from French and Latin words of the early period.

174. Attempts have also been made to arrange words borrowed from early French into certain general classes, according as they entered through various channels of thought. And this is possible, at least to a certain extent. Norman devotion to the church brought many church words not hitherto introduced. Many terms used in reference to government and courts of law are also of French origin; and the same is true of words applied to war and knighthood, owing to Norman introduction of feudalism and chivalry. But it would be difficult to class all French words in this way, since words applicable to all states and conditions of life were introduced almost as freely. For example, in a list of some 500 French words[1] introduced before 1250, sixty-four belong to religion and the church, twenty-eight to government and the courts of law, twelve to war and chivalry; leaving, however, almost 400 that cannot easily be classified. The large proportion belonging to the church may perhaps be accounted for by the class of writings examined; but, in any case, the proportion of words it would be difficult to classify would probably still remain unchanged.

175. One class of words introduced by the Normans deserves special mention in connection with early French additions. We have already called attention to the introduction of Danish surnames. The Normans also helped to

[1] Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England.*

establish the use of hereditary surnames in England. It had been the custom of the English to give but one name, to which no indication of parentage or place of residence was added. But the Normans followed the Romance custom of giving to each knight or courtier a second name, usually from his place of birth; as, Robert (of) Bruce, William (of) Percy. Surnames became so much the fashion in England, that the story is told of how the heiress of Robert Fitz-Hamon disdained Robert of Caen because he had no *to-name*, and how King Henry made good this lack by giving the luckless Robert the surname Fitzroy. Of course, in addition to surnames, many given names also came in with the Normans, as some did with the Danes. The etymology of names is, however, exceedingly difficult, so that it is not easy to estimate words of this class.

176. So far we have not made special effort to separate the Norman French loan-words from those coming from Parisian French somewhat later. As we have pointed out, both these classes of words have conformed to native English in sound changes, in accent, and in development of forms. Words of Parisian French, however, began to enter English at the last of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. During the fifteenth century they became more numerous, owing especially to the translation of French works by English writers. Many Italian books also came to England through French versions. For example Lydgate, who died about 1460, translated Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes* and Colonna's *Troy Book*, not from Italian, but from French versions. Later in the century the

French translations of Caxton, Malory, Rivers, and others brought a great increase to the French element in our English speech. How great this influence was may be seen from the fact that Caxton was accused by his contemporaries of using "over curious terms, which could not be understood by common people," as he frankly tells us in the Prologue to his translation of the Æneid. Probably the earliest recognition in literature of this Parisian French element, as distinct from Norman French, is in Chaucer's well known description of the Prioress in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*: —

"For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

Yet, as far as examination has been made, it does not seem clear that the Parisian French element in Chaucer is in any sense considerable.

177. The influence of Modern French on English has been by no means inconsiderable. During the early sixteenth century the translations from the French are represented especially by the *Froissart* of Lord Berners, while in the Elizabethan time French was drawn upon for many novels and tales. As in Caxton's time also, many of the classics, as well as works from the Italian, were introduced into England through French versions. All these influences tended to bring in French words. Later in the time of Charles I, who married the daughter of Henry IV of France, French manners and customs brought the French language also, so that Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, could write of the English adoption of French words the biting satire we have already quoted, § 102.

178. The accession of Charles II, who had long lived at the French court, intensified the French influence of his father's reign. This is exemplified especially in the literature of the seventeenth century. For instance, Beljame made a study of the later French element in Dryden,[1] finding some 200 French words of present use, for the introduction of which he regarded Dryden as responsible. Later investigation shows that some of these are found before Dryden's time, and some may have been first used by others; but most of them belong at least to the seventeenth century, and were due to the special French influence of the restoration period. Some of these words, verified by comparison with the *New English Dictionary*, are *adroit, aggressor, antechamber, apartment, bagatelle, brunette, burlesque, cadet, cajole, calash, campaign, cannonade, caprice, caress, chagrin, commandant, complaisant, console, coquette, corps, cravat.* Many such words retain French accentuation, as *bagatelle, barricade, cadet, caprice,* while some still keep a French pronunciation, as *ballet, billet-doux, carte blanche, cuirassier.*

179. Since the seventeenth century, French words have been coming slowly as they have been used by great writers, or more largely through the adoption of scientific and philosophical terms. Many of these retain a sort of French pronunciation, with some modification of vowels due to analogy of English words. It is not easy to estimate the exact relation of the French loan element to the whole

[1] *Quae e Gallicis verbis in Anglicam linguam Johannes Dryden introduxerit.*

number of borrowed words in English, but it is probably fair to say that the largest number of borrowed words in English from any one source is from the French, the Latin words standing next in order of numbers.

Other Romance Elements.

180. In addition to those from French, words have found their way in smaller numbers from other Romance languages, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. It has often been said that the Italian influence on English began with the known Italian influence on our literature at the time of Chaucer; but, in reality, few Italian words found their way into English before the modern period, and these not from Italian directly but through the French. Before 1500, however, the word *pilgrim*, Ital. *pellegrino*, came into English, perhaps through direct contact with Italy. It is first used in Layamon's *Brut* written about 1200. Other Italian words borrowed before 1500 are *alarm*, *brigand*, *ducat*, *florin*, besides certain ones of Eastern origin, adopted by the Italians in their commerce with the East, as *diaper*, *fustian*, *orange*, *rebeck*. All these, though originally Italian, came to English through French. Direct contact with Italy was renewed in the sixteenth century, as proved by the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey, and so considerable was the Italian influence of this time that Ascham, in his *Scholemaster*, protested strongly against the "Englishman Italianated." This Italian influence continued through the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century Italian music was introduced into England and with this came many musical terms.

It still remains true, however, that about half the Italian words in English, even those of modern times, have come to us through French. Some characteristic Italian words, borrowed directly from Italy, are *archipelago, balcony, cameo, campanile, catacomb, dilettante, extravaganza.*

181. The Spanish element differs from the Italian both in number, there being only about two-thirds as many words, and in the way it has been received. For there never has been such direct contact with Spanish literature as with Italian, or close contact of any sort. The Spanish element, like the Italian, is mainly modern. It is true some words of Spanish form, though of Arabic origin, were borrowed in Middle English times, owing to the cultivation of science by the Moors of Spain, but these are comparatively few. As in the case of Italian, Spanish words have also come to us through French. For in Elizabethan times, when Spanish literature came to be known in England, and in the following centuries many Spanish works were introduced in French translations. But the largest number of Spanish terms have come through commercial relations and through travellers. Some of these are due to the intercourse between Spaniards and Englishmen in the Americas, and thus some words from the aboriginal American languages have been adopted in Spanish forms. On the other hand, some examples of words direct from the Spanish are *alcalde* (originally Arabic), *castanet, hidalgo, matador;* articles of merchandise, *indigo, sassafras, sherry, vanilla;* nautical terms, *armada, flotilla;* names of animals, *alligator, armadillo, mosquito.* Words for abstract ideas are few, as *punctilio, peccadillo.* A few

Spanish words in English illustrate the influence of analogy. The Spanish masculine suffix *-ado* was extended, especially in Elizabethan times, to French words in *-ade*, or Spanish words in *-ada*, making such forms as *ambuscado*, *barricado*, *bastinado*, *carbonado*; Shakespeare also has *armado* for *armada*.

182. A few words have been borrowed from Portuguese, the number being variously estimated from thirteen to nearly twice as many. Among those that may be mentioned are *auto-da-fé*, *banana*, *binnacle*, *cobra*, *cocoa*, although some of these may be rather Spanish than Portuguese. Some of the Portuguese words in English are originally from India, Africa, and Brazil, countries settled by the Portuguese, or with which they have had commercial relations.

Other Foreign Elements.

183. To other foreign elements in English little space need be given. The most important of these is the Low German element as it may be called in order to include not only the Dutch, but possibly the Flemish and Frisian. Here again we are at a loss for some careful study of this part of our loan material. For on the one side it is believed by such scholars as Ten Brink, that Low German words were borrowed to a considerable extent in the Middle English period, while others look upon this element as purely modern, like those of Spanish and Portuguese. In favour of the first view may be noted the important commercial relations in early times between the Netherlands and England. It is said that in the reign of Edgar (d. 975)

there was a league of German traders in London. These were at first merchants of Cologne, but later the league included all German traders, especially those from the Low Countries. In 1260 Henry III granted by charter equal protection to all German merchants, and as a result new guilds were soon formed under control of the great Hanseatic League. As showing the extent of trade with the Netherlands at this time, we know that all English wool was exported to Flanders, to be returned again in woven fabrics, or exchanged on the continent for other important products. In 1328 Edward III married Philippa of Hainault, and about the same time he invited Flemish weavers to settle in England. In the sixteenth century the Dutch had possession of the carrying trade, and from them the English learned commerce and navigation. All these facts make it not improbable that some Low German words were borrowed at a very early time.

184. Low German words even more than those from Norse so strongly resemble true English words, that without the most careful tests mistakes may easily be made, and a larger number of words assigned to this particular loan element than rightly belongs to it. As examples of the Low German element we may at least name two classes of words, those relating to commerce and nautical terms. To the first probably belong *cannikin*, *groat*, *guilder*, *hogshead*, *holland*, *jerkin*, *link* 'torch,' *linstock*, *spool*, *swabber*, *wagon*. In the second are included *ahoy*, *aloof*, *avast*, *belay* (?), *boom*, *cruise* (?), *deck*, *hoist*, *lash*, *lighter* 'barge,' *marline*, *moor* (as a ship), *reef*, *skipper*,

sloop, *smack* 'fishing boat,' *swab*, *yacht*, *yawl*. Examples of common every-day words probably from Low German sources are *boy* and *girl*.

185. The loan material so far mentioned has been wholly from members of the Indo-European family. Besides, two other branches of the same family have furnished us, more or less directly, some loan-words. The first of these is the Aryan, § 4. The word *pepper*, already mentioned as entering Old English from Latin, is originally from India. Others from the same source are *ginger*, *sugar*, *sulphur*, *nard*, all coming to us before Modern English. In modern times, owing especially to England's relations with India, a considerable number of words have been borrowed from the various dialects of the Indian empire. Many of these are commercial words, however, and do not belong to the literary language.[1] Examples are *chintz*, *indigo*, *juggernaut*, *jungle*. Often, however, such words do not come directly from the Indian languages, but through some other modern speech. From the other member of the Aryan branch, the Iranian, English has also borrowed some common words. Some of the earliest are *azure*, *candy*, *check*, *chess*, *orange*, *peach*. Others, somewhat later, are *bazaar*, *borax*, *caravan*, *divan*. Most Persian words are modern, but a few, those first mentioned, came to us in Middle English. The one remaining branch of the Indo-European family represented among our borrowed words is the Balto-Slavic. The words from this source are few, however, and they are mostly names easily recognized as foreign. Examples of words originally

[1] Yule, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*.

Balto-Slavic are *Czar, drosky, knout, mazurka, polka, ukase, vampire.*

186. Outside the Indo-European family, words have been borrowed by English from the Semitic languages, to a smaller extent from Turkey, China, Japan, Africa, and the languages of North and South America. The Semitic element is first represented by words from Hebrew and Aramaic, the languages of Palestine in Old and New Testament times. These words were taken either directly from Hebrew and Greek, the languages of the Old and New Testament, through late translations, or from the Latin (Vulgate) translation of the Scriptures. Examples of Hebrew words are *alleluia, amen, balsam, cherub, cummin, ephod, gehenna, gopher-* (wood), *Messiah, paschal.* Words of Aramaic origin are *abba, damask, damson, mammon, targum.* From the nature of the case, these words have been coming into English since the Christianization of Britain, some words also being borrowed not directly, but through French forms. Besides Hebrew, Arabic words belong to the Semitic element, and these are more numerous than might be supposed. They have come to us indirectly in most cases, some through Greek and Italian, others through Spanish and French. The earliest Arabic words in the language are *admiral,* and *maumet* 'idol' from *Mahomet.* Some others are found in Middle English, as *alkali, alkoran, azimuth, elixir, lemon,* and others. Many also belong to modern times. Characteristic Arabic words not already mentioned are *alcohol, algebra, amber, artichoke, bedouin, benzoin, calif, coffee, cotton,* besides many others.

187. It is impossible to distinguish other Asiatic elements with great exactness. Some words in English are Turkish, as *bashaw, bey, bosh, caftan, Cossack, dey, janizary, ottoman, uhlan,* mostly names it will be seen. From Hungary we have *hussar, sabre, shako.* Of Tartar origin are said to be *khan, mammoth.* Malay words are *amuck, cockatoo, gong, guttapercha, junk.* From China, besides the names of country and people, we have *tea* and the names of various kinds of tea. From Australian come *boomerang, kangaroo;* from Polynesian, *taboo,* and *tattoo* 'to mark the body.' The African element is somewhat larger, including such words as *behemoth, oasis,* and *gypsy.* The largest of these lists of minor foreign elements is the native American, including the languages of the aboriginal inhabitants of North and South America. From the North American Indians we have *hominy, moccasin, moose, opossum, papoose, pemmican, raccoon, sachem, squaw, toboggan, tomahawk, wampum, wigwam,* besides many place-names. Mexico has furnished us *cacao, chocolate, copal, coyote, jalap, tomato;* the West Indies, *barbecue, canoe, hurricane, maize, potato.* From South America we get *alpaca, caoutchouc, condor, guano, ipecacuanha, jaguar, pampas, quinine, tapioca, tapir.* Some of these have been introduced directly, especially names of animals or articles of merchandise, while others have come to us from other modern languages.

Relation of the Foreign to the Native Words.

188. The borrowing of foreign words has usually been of those having no equivalents in the language of adoption. But this is not always the case, since sometimes the bor-

rowed words were synonymous, or nearly so, with those already found in English. We have pointed out how some Old English compounds were displaced by words from French, § 141. But in many cases the borrowed and native words, though fairly synonymous, have remained, becoming slightly differentiated in meaning and use. This may be illustrated in the case of French and English words by the conversation of Wamba and Gurth in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, where the jester tells how Saxon *swine* became *pork* on the table of the Norman; how *ox* became *beef; calf, veal;* and he might have added, how *sheep* became *mutton*.[1] Many other examples might be given to illustrate this same differentiation in use. English *stool*, which in the compound *cyne-stōl* meant 'throne' in Old English, has become differentiated from French *chair*, now in commoner use. So French *table* and English *board*, at one time synonymous, are now quite different in use, the latter retaining its original signification only in such expression as 'the frugal *board*,' 'bed and *board*.' Modern English *side-board* is no longer a simple 'side-table,' but a far more elaborate piece of furniture. Careful examination shows also a certain differentiation in actual use between *begin* and *commence*, *limb* and *member*, *luck* and *fortune*, *bloom* and *flower*, *bough* and *branch*, *buy* and *purchase*, *mild* and *gentle*, *work* and *labour*, *wretched* and *miserable*, and other words which seem fairly synonymous. Thus we do not speak of the *blooms*, though we say 'in *bloom*' for 'in flower'; we say a '*limb* of the law,' but not a '*limb* of the university.'

[1] This relation of the foreign and native words was first pointed out by Wallis (1616–1703) in the Preface to his *Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ*.

189. The influx of new words at various times and from various sources has produced one result not so true of any other language as of English. The same word etymologically has been introduced in two, sometimes three, different forms, as it came in at different times or through different channels. Thus *captive* comes directly from Latin *captivus*, while we also have *caitiff*, the same word in the Old French form. On the other hand, *corpse*, *conceit*, *frail*, are Old French, while *corps*, *conception*, *fragile*, which we have also borrowed, are Modern French. Doublets that are Greek in origin are *diamond—adamant*; *balm—balsam* (ultimately Hebrew); *fancy—fantasy*, *phantasy*; *priest—presbyter*, as Milton pointed out in the well known line, —

"New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."

Sometimes a true Teutonic word has returned to us in another form from a foreign language into which it had been adopted. Thus *guard* is the French form of an original Teutonic word, the true English form of which is *ward*. In *gage*, *guarantee*, beside *wage*, *warrant*, the original Teutonic roots of English *wed*, *ware*, have been borrowed in two different forms from two different French dialects. Occasionally a word has been introduced in three different forms, making an etymological triplet. For example, Latin *regalis* came into English in two French forms, *real*, used by Chaucer, and the more modern *royal*, while it has come directly as *regal*. The same is true of Latin *legalis*, which appears as *leal* in 'land o' the *leal*,' as *loyal*, and *legal*. A few words appear in four forms, as Latin *discus*, which from its Old English form occurs as *dish*, from

Middle English as *desk*, from the French as *dais*, and later again from Latin as *disc*.[1]

190. Owing to the borrowing of the same word at different times, a later form has sometimes displaced an earlier, and this must be taken into account in tracing the history of our vocabulary. A good example is found in the word *angel* already cited, § 150. So Latin *ficus* 'fig' became Old English *fīc*, but our form *fig*, with short *i* and hard *g*, is from Modern French *figue*. Old English *sanct*, Lat. *sanctus*, has been replaced by French *saint*. Old English *cristen*, adj. and sb., has been made to conform to Latin *Christianus*, although the verb *christen* remains unchanged except for the Latinized spelling with *ch* instead of *c*. It is impossible to account for the *sk* sound in *school* if from Old English *scōl*, so that we must suppose French, or late Latin influence, as modifying the word at least. In some cases the displacement is not clear, although it is still probable. For example, probably English *abbot* is directly from French rather than from the Old English form *abbod*. *Apostle* and *epistle* are also rather French forms than from the Old English (*a*)*postol*, (*e*)*pistel*, where the first syllable was more commonly lost. Other examples might be given.

191. In the case of French words borrowed by English in an early period, the orthography, sometimes the pronunciation also, differs by reason of a later borrowing. For example, the older forms of *debt*, *doubt*, are *dette*, *doute*,

[1] A list of doublets, including English doublets, § 146, and cognates, occurs in the Appendix to Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*.

our present spelling being due to imitation of later French. So we have *counter—compter, cord—chord, quire—choir, indite—indict.* The history of these forms is interesting. Under the influence of the renaissance, French words were made to conform in spelling during the sixteenth century to Latin words from which they were derived. Hence the useless *b* in *debt, doubt,* because of their original connection with Latin *debitum, dubitare;* the useless *c* in *indict,* the older spelling being preserved in *indite.* This accounts for *choir,* beside *quire* the older form, which was made to conform to Latin *chorus,* as well as for *l, p,* in *fault, receipt.* Sometimes the added letters came to be pronounced, especially in English. For example, *perfect* has displaced an older *perfit, parfit* used by Milton. *Verdict* similarly replaced *verdit,* and *advise, advocate, adventure,* supplanted older forms without *d.* The older form of the last word has really remained in *venture,* ME. *aventure.* This tendency to use a learned orthography was extended to a few words of English origin. For example, *rhyme,* instead of *rime* the proper form, is due to supposed connection with *rhythm,* which itself had been made over from French *rithme* to correspond more closely with Latin *rhythmus.* To a somewhat similar tendency is due the spelling of *delight,* Fr. *delit,* as if it were associated with English *light.* So *sprightly* from *sprite* acquired its *gh* through the influence of English words.

192. Attention has already been called to homonyms of English origin, or words from different roots which have sometimes come to have the same phonetic form, § 146.

Homonyms are also due to borrowing, a borrowed word corresponding in sound to a native one, or two or more homonyms being borrowed. Of the first sort may be cited English *angle* 'fishing hook' — French *angle* 'corner'; English *arm* 'part of body' — French *arm* 'as in firearms'; English *bank* 'mound of earth' — French *bank* 'for money.' To the second class of homonyms, resulting from borrowing, are *ancient* 'old' — *ancient*, a corruption of French *encien* 'banner'; *bay* 'colour' — *bay* 'laurel-tree' — *bay* 'an inlet' — *bay* 'bark as a dog,' all from French. Many other examples might be given to illustrate homonyms from foreign sources.

IV.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY.

CHAPTER XI.

CHANGES WHICH MAY AFFECT WORDS.

193. In the preceding portions of the book we have considered the language as a whole, and have dealt with some of its more general relations. But language is made up of words, and there can be no accurate history of the speech without some consideration of the individual words of which it is composed. Linguistic study is thus ultimately based on etymology. This is particularly true of more recent linguistic study, since the greatest advance in the science of language during recent years is in the emphasis placed on the exact determination of the relationships of individual words, as fundamental to a knowledge of words collectively. It is therefore important that we should consider the principles of English etymology in order to understand the more exact relations of English words.

194. At the beginning it should be pointed out that we may speak of words in two very different senses. On the one hand the written form may be intended, that which is

presented to the eye on the printed page; or we may refer to the word as spoken, as produced by the vocal organs and appealing to the ear. The question arises, Which of these is the real, the living form, and which should therefore be the subject of study? But we know that the written form is at best a representation of the spoken word, and that often, as in English, it is by no means a perfect representation. In our own language, for example, the written form has remained much the same for centuries, without conforming to known changes of the spoken word. It is therefore clear that, if we wish to study words in their essential character, we must have reference rather to the spoken than to the written form, since the latter is at best a stereotyped picture, often much conventionalized.

195. The purpose to study the principles of English etymology implies that the subject is capable of systematic treatment. This itself, however, might be questioned. Already certain changes that words undergo have been mentioned, § 191. These related principally, however, to the written form. No less is it true that the word as spoken is constantly changing. This is clearly illustrated for English by the lines of Chaucer, the puns of Shakespeare, and the rhymes of Pope. Moreover, changes in the spoken form of words are continually going on at present, as shown by comparing the speech of one generation with that of another. But are such changes regular to any considerable degree, or does their haphazard character make it impossible to formulate a principle of variation? What are the fundamental principles of language in relation to the changes

which words undergo? For upon the answer to these questions must depend the possibility of a systematic history of the word in its essential character.

196. Linguistic science asserts that there are two influences under which words may change. The first is that which affects individual sounds, or phonetic change. The second is that which affects the word as the sign of an idea, or analogy. As to the first, linguistic science also says that phonetic changes, far from being haphazard and irregular, are subject to fixed and determinate laws, and that herein lies the possibility of a methodical and accurate knowledge of etymology. In order to understand this more fully let us consider how language is learned, how modified by the learner, and how handed down to following generations. It should be borne in mind from the start that by learning a language as here used, is meant the acquisition of their native tongue by children rather than the learning of a foreign language by adults. The first represents the great fact of language learning, the second being comparatively exceptional.

197. Speech sounds are produced by physical organs, as the vocal chords, the tongue, teeth, lips, palate, and the resonance chambers of mouth and nose. They are reproduced by the same organs under the direction of the mind. There are thus in language two elements, the physical and the psychical, the exact relations of which are of the utmost importance. The physical element is at least not likely to be misunderstood. But by a psychical element is commonly understood a conscious mental direction, and

this might at first seem to be the sense in which the term is here used. Yet, an examination of the facts of language shows that this is far from true. For speech under ordinary conditions is not the result of conscious mental direction. The psychical element is present, but it usually acts without the intervention of consciousness. Only under exceptional circumstances, as when some striking peculiarity of sound is noticed, or when the schools have made us keenly alive to slight differences in speech, is there any consciousness of individual sounds. Even of the word as the sign of an idea there is in ordinary speech no consciousness. Yet the different syntactical relations of the word, together with the different forms it may assume in these relations, and the visual impression in the case of the reader, make more easy and frequent the consciousness of the word as a separate entity, than of the individual sounds composing it.

198. These two elements, the physical and the psychical, unite in the process of learning a language. Spoken language makes definite impressions on the mind of the hearer, as the child. The child then imitates the sounds heard, this imitation being an unconscious attempt to reproduce the impression of sounds previously registered on the mind. In other words language is learned by unconscious imitation. On this fact depend the changes that the sounds of a language undergo. It is clear that if this imitation were perfect in each individual, speech sounds would be unchanged from generation to generation and from century to century. But from known changes in language,

as well as from imperfections both of the ear in its sensations of sound and of the speech organs in reproduction, we know that this imitation is not perfect. From this imperfect imitation therefore arise the differences in individual speech, differences in dialects, and ultimately differences within the same family of languages. This also accounts for sound changes from generation to generation. In the case of the latter it is true another element enters. It will be urged that the imperfect imitation of speech by individuals would produce innumerable differences. And this is true. But, on the other hand, the necessity of making one's self understood, or the constant tendency to make individual speech correspond to that of those about us, gives to the sound changes of each generation a certain common direction. The tracing of this direction of sound change in a language, is what is meant by the history of sounds.

199. In order to appreciate how thoroughly phonetic changes are subject to fixed laws, we must again emphasize the fact that sounds are produced by physical organs, and that the mind, though setting in motion the organs of speech, gives them as a rule no conscious direction. We must therefore expect that the phenomena of speech may be classed in various categories from which, as from other natural phenomena, may be deduced various laws and principles of change. To these laws in their strictest application there should be no exceptions. In first arranging the phenomena of speech we may find some apparently exceptional facts. Linguistic science still asserts, however, that these apparently exceptional phenomena are themselves

subject to minor laws, or to modifications of a general law which has not been precisely stated. To illustrate we shall expect the $\bar{a}$ sounds of a speech to develop similarly by a consistent principle of change. Thus Old English $\bar{a}$ has become $\bar{o}$ in Modern English. Such a general statement, however, may need to be somewhat modified in order that the law may be stated in its complete form. For some phonetic influence, as that of a consonant before or after the sound in question, may require to be taken into account. Thus, while Old English $\bar{a}$ has regularly become Modern English $\bar{o}$, Old English $\bar{a}$ under the influence of a preceding *w* has become $\bar{u}$ (*oo*) in Modern English, as shown by such examples as *two*, *who*, *swoop*. Difference in stress is another phonetic influence which must always be taken into account. Thus unstressed $\bar{a}$ has had a different development from stressed $\bar{a}$, owing to lack of the conservative influence of accent, and to consequent shortening. But these are not exceptions to the regularity of the phonetic law, only essential modifications of it which should be embodied in an accurate statement.

200. We have so far considered phonetic changes within the language itself. But for English especially, the foreign element has been shown to be a large one. It may naturally be asked, What has been its influence upon the phonetic development of the speech? To answer this question we must remember the manner in which words have been borrowed. And first it must be clear that the subject concerns only borrowings into the spoken language, since only these could have a phonetic influence. Words introduced into

the written language alone could not possibly have affected the character of native sounds. For this reason, in considering the possible influence of the foreign element upon sounds, we have to do mainly with the earlier periods of the language history, when numerous foreign words became a part of the speech of Englishmen.

201. In any discussion of the foreign element in a language, it must be laid down as a fundamental principle that we should assume the development of the native tongue as an uninterrupted one, unless the contrary is clearly proved. It is not sufficient to assert foreign influence, since this is out of the natural course of development. There are, too, in the history of speech many reasons for supporting this assumption. For example the speech organs, accommodated as they are to one set of speech sounds, do not easily articulate sounds which differ from these in any considerable degree. We may even go back of this. For the foreign word would not usually be correctly heard except by the trained ear. Or, to speak more exactly, the sounds of a foreign word, heard even several times, would make such a slight impression upon the brain of the hearer, that the mind could not direct the organs of speech, unused to foreign sounds, to reproduce them correctly. The tendency would therefore be for the mental impression of the foreign word to fall in with mental impressions of sounds more familiar. When therefore the speaker should wish to reproduce the foreign word, the mind would probably direct the production of sounds of the mother tongue nearest like the foreign sounds. In

this way, therefore, the borrowed word would tend from the start to become naturalized, both through the sense of hearing and through reproduction by the vocal organs.

202. That borrowed words tend to become assimilated to the native speech is undoubtedly true from the history of any of the modern tongues. For, while a foreign word may for a time retain an approximately correct pronunciation as spoken by educated people familiar with the foreign language, this can seldom be the case with the great majority of speakers. With the latter, the unaccustomed word, variously pronounced at first, will more and more assume the sounds of the mother tongue, until finally no element of strangeness will be left. This may be illustrated in English from the French words borrowed in the earlier periods of the literary language. These retained for a time the foreign accent, as in Chaucer, § 296. But all of these gradually assumed, even in the literary language, the accent of genuine English words. The reason for this must clearly be that in the speech of Englishmen, upon which the literary language is founded, the foreign words had long before become an integral part of the native tongue, and had assumed its characteristic stress. Even poetic license would then no longer allow the use of the foreign word with foreign accent. Moreover, foreign words become finally so thoroughly assimilated in sound to the native stock as to undergo changes peculiar to the speech of which they become a part. In English, for instance, words borrowed before mutation had spent its force suffered this peculiar Teutonic change, as shown in the sections on mutation, § 246 ff.

203. All these facts, and many similar ones might be cited, show that the borrowed word tends to range itself with native words rather than to influence materially the sounds of the native speech. One other important fact has a direct bearing upon this latter point. In stating it we may well cite our own language, in which the borrowed element is undoubtedly large. It has been shown, even for the Middle English period when the borrowings were most numerous, that words were adopted very gradually through a long period of years. The necessary inference from this is, that the borrowed words containing a particular sound or combination of sounds would be few in number at any given time. For this reason the probability is not great that the few foreign words would materially influence the larger number of native ones. To take a definite example, the very common Old English *a* (*æ*), as in *man*, became *a* as in *artistic*, in the Middle English period. During the same period Old French words with *a* (*artistic*) were borrowed by English. It might be said that the latter caused the change of the native *a* mentioned above. Yet against the possibility of such an influence may be noted that the interchange of *æ* (*man*) and *a* (*artistic*) has happened more than once in the history of English, and there is no reason to suppose it was not in this case a thoroughly natural change due to internal, rather than external, causes.

204. But in order to meet the possible objection that the example used above is not typical of all cases, let us take two others. It has been shown, § 162, that English *get* is, so far as its hard *g* is concerned, not a native but a bor-

rowed word. Yet we cannot here say that the hard *g* is borrowed, since this sound already existed in the language. We must rather suppose that the word with hard *g* came first to be used beside the native word *yet* 'get,' and finally displaced the latter entirely. Or, to take an example of a sound that might be more strongly urged as foreign. There was in Old English no vowel combination like the present English diphthong *oi*, as in *coin*, *join*, *toil*. Most of the words containing this diphthong are from French, although *boy* is from a Low German source, § 184. It might, therefore, seem to be reasonable to say that this sound is certainly borrowed from French. But, on the other hand, the diphthong *oi* is but a combination of two English sounds *o* (*o*) + *i*, neither of which is exceptional. While, therefore, the combination may be said to be due to French influence, the sounds themselves are truly English, even though they may have differed somewhat in quality from English sounds at their introduction. Moreover the dialectal pronunciation of such words as *join*, *point*, not with *oi* but with *ai*, as in *high*, is another indication that the foreign sounds tended to accommodate themselves to those of native quality.

205. Enough has already been said in these pages of the regularity of phonetic changes, to indicate that there is no true etymologizing which does not base itself upon a thorough understanding of sound laws, and an accurate accounting for the changes in individual sounds. Guesses at etymology have been frequent enough; but guesses at etymology must give way before a scientific treatment of phonetics, which is the foundation of true linguistic study. This must be our

reason, therefore, for attempting in the following chapters a systematic though concise statement of the changes undergone by English sounds in the history of the speech. Quite apart from phonetic changes, with which the preceding discussion has had especially to do, we have already mentioned another influence, § 196, which linguistic science places beside phonetic change in its effect upon words. Phonetic change may affect individual sounds. But words, as distinct entities of which the mind takes cognizance, may undergo no less marked changes. For the mind tends to arrange words in groups on the general basis of likeness in form or use. Thus verbs of different classes, as weak or strong, are grouped together, or nouns of similar endings in like manner. These groups tend to influence one another, less common forms being made to agree with more common ones. A discussion of this analogical tendency in language will be found in the chapter on Analogy.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH VOWEL SOUNDS.

Some Phonetic Distinctions.

206. In undertaking to follow the development of speech sounds we must first remember that spelling, always more or less traditional, does not exactly represent them. It is important at the start, therefore, to rid ourselves from the trammels of traditional spelling, to recognize words by ear as well as by sight, and sounds as distinct from their written or printed signs. This is especially true of English, for it is the most obvious fact that English sounds have many graphic representations. For example the same vowel sound in *all*, *sauce*, *caught*, *talk*, *law*, *long*, *brought*, is represented by *a*, *au*, *augh*, *al*, *aw*, *o*, *ough*; that in *fate*, *pain*, *straight*, *pay*, *gauge*, *vein*, *they*, *feign*, *eight*, *great*, is written *a*, *ai*, *aigh*, *ay*, *au*, *ei*, *ey*, *eig*, *eigh*, *ea*. So the consonant sound in *she* is represented by *sh*, *shi*, *s*, *ss*, *ssi*, *sci*, *c*, *ci*, *ce*, *ch*, *che*, *chsi*, *t*, *ti*, *psh*, in *shall*, *fashion*, *sugar*, *assure*, *mission*, *conscious*, *officiate*, *social*, *ocean*, *chaise*, *moustache*, *fuchsia*, *vitiate*, *motion*, *pshaw*. Some of these are exceptional, but many are not so, and they give a good idea of the anomalies of English spelling. But the spoken form of words has been handed down in con-

formity with certain sound laws, and only in exceptional cases has it been affected by the written form. Hence we must disregard the irregularities of our English spelling and recognize the more regular and more important sound development.

207. Besides putting aside the anomalies of English spelling for a recognition of the spoken word, we must also try to gain some idea of the fundamental relations of sounds and incidentally of terms necessary to show these relations. The common division of speech sounds into vowels and consonants, though not a hard and fast one, is for all practical purposes convenient. Of these two divisions vowel sounds may be again separated into two classes, simple vowels, or monophthongs, as *e*, *i*, *a*, and certain vowel combinations, or diphthongs, as *au* (*house*), *iu* (*few*). From diphthongs are to be clearly distinguished combinations of vowels in which each is given distinct articulation, as in *pre-ëminent*, *co-öperate*. Moreover there are sounds which are not simple vowels, since they are spoken with a more or less perceptible vanish or glide, as English long *o*, while they are also not true diphthongs since the second element is not a full vowel sound. These half diphthongs, as they have been sometimes called, may become true diphthongs by the vanish becoming a vowel, or simple vowels by absorption of the second element. Through this intermediate stage also a simple vowel may become a diphthong or the reverse. Thus OE. *ū* first assumed a vanish in late Middle English, and later became the MnE. diphthong *au* (*house*);

on the other hand, OE. *ēo* in Middle English became the simple vowel *ē* by the reverse process. While both vowels of a diphthong are spoken together, one always has stronger stress than the other. The accent, or stress, rests on the first element of the English diphthongs *au* (*house*), *ai* (*high*), *oi* (*boy*), but on the second element of *iu* (*few*).

208. QUANTITY. — A vowel when spoken may occupy longer or shorter time, giving rise to distinctions of quantity. There is naturally no sharp dividing line between the times given to different vowels, but it is sufficient for our purpose to note short and long quantity. Thus *e*, *i*, as in *hen*, *it*, are short vowels; *ā*, *ō*, as in *father*, *no*, are long vowels. Long vowels in this book are always distinguished from short vowels by being marked with the macron as above, short vowels being usually left unmarked. The time of a diphthong is, at least usually, equal to that of a long vowel. Further than this, the stressed part of a diphthongal combination may itself be long or short, so that, although the distinction need not usually be taken into account, we may have long or short diphthongs. For example OE. *ēa* is a long, OE. *ea*, the breaking § 214, a short diphthong. Quantity has no necessary dependence upon accent, but it yet remains that for Modern English, only stressed vowels are long, all others being short.

209. QUALITY. — In addition to distinctions as to quantity there are important qualitative distinctions which also apply to vowel sounds. These qualitative distinctions depend upon

physical relations of tone and over-tone produced by the vocal organs. Since, however, they also have fairly definite relations to positions of the vocal organs, they are at present most satisfactorily designated by reference to the latter. We thus speak of front vowels, or those made by voice sound modified by passing through an opening between tongue and front palate; and back vowels, or those modified by an opening between tongue and back palate. Front vowels in English are *i*, *e*, *æ* (*man*) and the corresponding long sounds; the back vowels are *a* (*artistic*), *ɐ* (*but*), *ɒ* (*not*), *o* (*obey*), *u* (*full*) and the corresponding long sounds. Besides front and back vowels are some due to the opening which modifies the voice sound being between the front and back positions. These, which may be called mixed vowels, are exemplified by the first element of the diphthongs *ai* (*high*), *au* (*house*), or by the vowel before *r* in *her*, *bird*, *word*. This mixed vowel will be represented by *ɚ*. Distinctions may also be made as to the nearness of the tongue to the palate, it being higher or lower in the case of various vowels. Three tongue positions are noted, high, mid, and low. Thus *i* is a high vowel in this sense, *e* a mid, and *æ* a low vowel. Another physiological distinction important to vowel sounds depends upon the position of the lips when speech sound is produced. Vowels are called round, or rounded, when the lips are thrust out and puckered making a round opening. Those made with no such rounding of the lips are called unround vowels. Examples of the rounded vowels are *ɒ* (*not*), *o* (*obey*), *u* (*full*) and the long vowels corresponding; unround are all the front vowels, the back vowels *a*, *ɐ* (*but*) and the mixed vowel

ɜ (*her*). The terms *open* and *close* are also sometimes used, the former implying in general that the mouth opening is larger, the latter that it is smaller in the case of two sounds. For example, *a* (*art*) is the most open vowel, *ū* the closest. But the terms are most conveniently used to distinguish between two particular vowels, rather than between classes of vowel sounds. Thus it is convenient to speak of the open ǭ (*law*) and the close ō (*no*), both being called *o* sounds because of the lip-rounding which they have in common.

210. Pitch. — The distinctions of the preceding paragraph are all physiological. Vowels may however be arranged in order of higher or lower pitch, a physical distinction based on tone. This arrangement may perhaps more easily indicate certain relations of sounds, as for instance those most likely to interchange because of similarity in pitch. This will be evident from an arrangement of the English short vowels in order of pitch beginning with the highest: *i*, *e*, *æ* (*man*), ɜ (*her*), *a* (*artistic*), ɒ (*but*), ǫ (*not*), *o* (*obey*), *u* (*full*). Long vowels agree in the main with the pitch order of short vowels, but long unround vowels are slightly higher in pitch, long round vowels slightly lower than the corresponding short vowels. Owing to similarity of pitch we may therefore expect, especially in certain short vowels, occasional interchange even without the phonetic cause being always apparent. For example *e*, standing just between *i* and *æ* may occasionally interchange with either. The same is true of ǫ which interchanges with *a* on one side and with *o* (*obey*) on the other. In general also we may expect in phonetic changes that a vowel will naturally become one

of the next higher or next lower pitch. If the change indicated goes farther than this in the scale, we must usually assume the intermediate stage or stages as having once existed. Thus OE. *ā* has become MnE. *ō*, but we must assume an intermediate stage *ǭ* (*law*), and we know this actually existed in Middle English. Preceding statements as to pitch must be somewhat modified by considerations of force. A vowel will have a slightly higher pitch if spoken with greater force. But it is still probable that the pitch relations of vowels to one another are not seriously modified by the force of utterance.

211. With these distinctions in mind we may give the following tables of present English sounds, the first arranged on the basis of physiological relations mentioned above, the second showing the short and long vowels in order of pitch. In the latter case illustrative examples of present English words are given.

TABLE I.[1]

	BACK.		MIXED.		FRONT.	
	Unround.	Round.	Unround.	Round.	Unround.	Round.
High .		u, ū			i, ī	
Mid .		(o), ō			e, ē	
Low .	a, ɐ	ǫ, ǭ	ə		æ, ǣ	

[1] For more complete tables showing the physiological relations of sounds, see Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics*, Jesperson's *Articulations of Speech Sounds*, and Trautman, *Die Sprachlaute im Allgemeinen und die Laute des Englischen, Französischen und Deutschen im Besondern*.

TABLE II.

i as in *hit.*	ī as in *machine.*
e as in *hen.*	ē as in *name.*
æ as in *man.*	ǣ as in *care.*
ə as in *her.*	ə̄ as in *he(r)d* (*r* lost).
a as in *artistic.*	ā as in *art.*
ʉ as in *but.*	
ǫ as in *not.*	ǭ as in *law.*
(o) as in *obey.*	ō as in *no.*
u as in *full.*	ū as in *moon.*

DIPHTHONGS.

ai = ə + i as in *high.*	oi = ǫ(o) + i as in *boy.*
au = ə + u as in *house.*	iu = i + ū as in *few.*

In both these tables we have for simplicity omitted certain minor distinctions. For example *ō*, *ū* (*no*, *moon*), as already noticed, are often half-diphthongal. The unstressed *o* and *u* in *obey*, *value*, are mixed round vowels, but these sounds do not occur in stressed syllables in English.

212. SYNTHESIS. — From what has been said of the positions of the organs of speech in producing sounds, it might be supposed that there is a sharp line of demarcation between one sound and another in speaking. But on the contrary the organs of speech move continuously in utterance, and the vocal cords are also kept vibrating. The result is that between sounds as we distinguish them are certain vowel sounds, or glides, that serve to link together those we call vowels and consonants. Moreover, contrary to the ordinary supposition no doubt, we make no

divisions in speech between words as such. Speech, however, really divides itself into certain larger groups of words called breath-groups. That is around a stressed syllable, or word, are grouped certain unstressed syllables, or words, having the nature of proclitics or enclitics. For example, *How do you do* as spoken is a single breath-group; *I saw a man* ‖ *walking on the beach* makes two breath-groups, as marked. While the breath-group rather than the word marks the true division of speech, there is a smaller division which has certain relations worth considering. The spoken sounds making up the syllable have the closest union within the breath-group. The syllable, as far as speech is concerned, is of two classes, open and closed. An open syllable is one ending in a vowel, or one in which the vowel of the syllable is followed by a single medial consonant. A closed syllable is one ending in a consonant or one in which the vowel of the syllable is followed by two or more consonants. This distinction is important since in the open syllable certain phonetic changes have resulted which have not affected closed syllables.

213. Further relations of the phonetics of speech do not belong to our present subject. For these, special treatises on phonetics should be consulted.[1] We have confined ourselves to such distinctions as seemed absolutely necessary to the history of English sounds. In tracing this history of sounds we may take two courses, one following present English sounds back to those of former times, the other

[1] See, for example, Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics*.

tracing the development from the earliest times to the present. Here the latter order will be followed, Old English sounds being traced through Middle to Modern English. In this we shall consider the Mercian dialect for Old English, and the Midland for Middle English, since these are the immediate antecedents of our modern speech. But Old English words are given in West Saxon forms since most of the Old English literature is in the West Saxon dialect, and these forms may be quoted with certainty. Unless otherwise stated, only vowel sounds in accented syllables are included, as those in unaccented syllables have suffered changes peculiar to themselves, and besides bear a much less important relation to the history of words. From what has already been said of the relation of borrowed to native words, it is clear that the sound development of the latter is of primary importance. A complete discussion of English sounds should include more extended notices of the foreign elements. But, in the main, foreign words have ranged themselves with native ones, so that only a few examples of loan-words will be given to illustrate their relationship to English.

The Vowels in English.

214. The Mercian vowel system in Old English may be fairly represented by the following table of symbols with approximate pronunciation of the sounds indicated. The Mercian symbols differ from those of West Saxon in two principal particulars, Mercian using ę̄ for West Saxon ǣ and often ę for West Saxon æ. For convenience ę will be regularly used to represent West Saxon æ.

THE MERCIAN VOWELS.

ā as in *father, far.*	a as in *artistic.*
ǣ as in *there.*	ę as in *man, hat.*
ē as in *they, say.*	e as in *men.*
ī as in *see, eat.*	i as in *it.*
ō as in *note, no.*	ǫ as in Eng. *not*, § 227.
ū as in *moon, food.*	u as in *full.*
ȳ as in Ger. *Grün*; later i.	y as in Ger. *hübsch*; later i.
ēa = ǣ + a (diphthong).	ea = e + a (breaking of a).
ēo = ē + o (diphthong).	eo = e + o (breaking of e).

215. This table is considerably simplified for Middle English by various vowels becoming the same in sound, and one of the symbols usually disappearing. For example, *y*, long and short, became the same in sound as *ī* during late Old English times, and has since had a similar development, although both symbols are still used. The diphthongs *ēa*, *ēo* also became simple vowels, uniting with *ǣ*, *ē* respectively. The Mercian *a*, *ę*, *ea*, and *ǫ* when representing an original *a* before a nasal, all became *a* in Middle English, and *e*, *eo* became *e* in most cases. In place of the Old English diphthongs, which had become simple vowels in Middle English, new diphthongs were formed, as will be shown hereafter. These and other variations may be seen from the table below, while a more careful explanation of the individual changes will follow. Two columns are given for the English of the nineteenth century to show some of the differences between the speech of England and that of America.

TABLE OF VOWEL CHANGES FROM OLD TO MODERN ENGLISH.

THE LONG VOWELS.

	ME.	16th Cent.	17th Cent.	18th Cent.	19th Cent. LdE.	19th Cent. Amr.	Examples.
ā, hām	ǫ		ō		ōu	ō[a]	home.
ē̆, ēa, hǣte, lēaf . . .	ē̆	ē̆, ē	ē	ī	īy	ī[y]	heat, leaf.
ē, ēo, fēlan, ðēof . .	ē	ē, ī	ī(ē)	ī	īy	ī[y]	feel, thief.
ī, ȳ, hwīle, mȳs . . .	ī	əi	əi	ai	ai	ai	while, mice.
ō, dōm	ō	ū(?)	ū		ūw	ū[w]	doom.
ū, hūs	ū	ou	au		au	au	house.

THE SHORT VOWELS.

a, nama	ā		æ	ē	ēi	ē[i]	name.
ea + r + cons, earm .	a			ǣ(?)	ā	ā	arm.
ę[1] (a), hæt, mæn . .	a		æ		æ	æ	hat, man.
ę[1] + f, þ, s[2], n + cons.	a		æ	ǣ	ā	ǣ, ā	calf, bath, fast, dance.
e, helm	e				e	e	helm.
i, y, sittan, pyt . . .	i				i	i	sit, pit.
o,[3] oxa	ǫ		ǫ(a)	ǫ(a)	ǫ	a, ǫ	ox.
u, sunne	u		ɐ[4]		ɐ	ɐ	sun.
e, i, o, u + r + cons. .	e, i, o, u			ə[5]	ə	ə	herd, bird, word, turf.

THE NEW DIPHTHONGS.

a (ǭ) + w, g (h), dragan, bohte .	ǫu			ǭ	ǭ	ǭ	draw, bought.
ǒ (ā) + w, g (h), boga, cnāwan .	ou		ō		ōw	o[u]	(rain)bow, know.
ē̆ (ēo, ēa) + w, fēawe .	eu		iu		iu	iu	few.
ę + g(h), dæg . . .	ęi	ei		ē	ēi	ē[1]	day.
e + g (h), weg . . .	ei	ei		ē	ēi	ē[1]	way.

[1] As in *hat.* [2] Voiceless *f, th, s.* [3] As in Eng. *not.*
[4] As in *but.* [5] As in *her.*

THE LONG VOWELS.

216. OLD ENGLISH, *ā.* — OE. *ā*, pronounced like the *a* of *father, far*, became in ME. a sound like that of the vowel in *all*, an open *ǭ* sound, § 209. The ME. open *ǭ* became close *ō* in MnE., as in *no, note.* In ME. the vowel was represented by *o, oo*, and the MnE. representation of it is by *o, oa* (*oe*) most commonly. Examples are *no* < [1]*nā*; *stone* < *stān*; *bone* < *bān*; *road* < *rād*; *boat* < *bāt*; *oak* < *āc*; *foam* < *fām*; *toe* < *tā*. Many other words might be given to show this regular development of OE. *ā*. An example of a foreign word that has had a similar development is Latin *pālus*, OE. *pāl*, MnE. *pole*. Many words of Old French origin also fell in with these in ME. times, as *story, noble, close, suppose, coat, note.*

[1] The sign < is to be read 'from' or 'derived from.' MnE. forms of words are first given, followed by those of OE.

One apparent exception to the regular development of OE. *ā* is worthy of note. If a *w* preceded the OE. *ā* and remained in ME. times, it caused ME. open *ǭ* to become close *ō* as in *no*, and this with other ME. close *ō*'s regularly became MnE. *ū* as in *moon*. The examples of this however are not numerous: *two* < *twā*; *swoop* < *swāpan*; *who* < *hwā*; *ooze* (formerly *wooze*) < *wās*. MnE. *ō* has become a half-diphthong *ō* + *u* (*w*) in late London English (LdE.), while it is long *ō* with only a slight vanish of *u* in America. Long *ō* before *r*, as in *roar*, *sore*, has developed the open *ǭ* sound in LdE., while the original MnE. close *ō* is retained in America as a rule.

217. OLD ENGLISH *ę̄*, *ēa*. — The Mercian open *ę̄* (WS. *ǣ*) had the sound of *e* in *there*, not unlike the sound of the vowel in *man* when lengthened. This remained an open sound until the last of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth centuries, when it became close *ē* as in *they*. In the eighteenth century this close *ē* became *ī* as in *machine*, falling in with the original close *ē* which had become *ī* in the seventeenth century. The MnE. spelling for this sound is usually *ea*, sometimes *ee*. Examples are *sea* < *sǣ*; *deal* < *dǣl*; *heat* < *hǣtan*; *wheat* < *hwǣte*; *least* < *lǣst*; *clean* < *clǣne*; *seed* < *sǣd*; *deed* < *dǣd*; *sleep* < *slǣpan*.

In ME. times the OE. diphthong *ēa* also became a simple open *ę̄* sound and has since had a similar development. Examples are *leaf* < *lēaf*; *beat* < *bēatan*; *east* < *ēast*; *steam* < *stēam*; *sheep* < *scēap*; *belief* < *be-lēafan*. Some examples of foreign words that belong with English

words having OE. ę̄ or *ēa* are *feast, peach, preach, cease* from Old French.

218. OLD ENGLISH *ē, ēo.* — OE. close *ē*, with the sound of *ē* in *they*, became *ī* of *machine* at the last of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. In ME. both the open and close *ē*'s were written *e, ee*, but their use in rhymes clearly proves that they were distinct in sound. Nor was it until the middle or latter part of the eighteenth century, when both had become *ī* (*machine*), that they were commonly used as perfect rhymes. The MnE. spelling of the original close *ē* is *ee, e, ie* (*ei*), as in *see, we, field, receive.* It is usually distinguished from the original open ę̄, therefore, by its spelling in MnE. Other examples are *feet* < *fēt; sweet* < *swēte; green* < *grēne; keen* < *cēne; seek* < *sēcan; feel* < *fēlan; he* < *hē; we* < *wē; field* < *feld* (ME. *fēld*). Words with the *ei* spelling are mainly of Old French origin.

With this OE. close *ē* must be considered the OE. diphthong *ēo*, the two having become the same in ME., and having had a similar development since that time. Examples are *deep* < *dēop; thief* < *ðēof; fiend* < *fēond; creep* < *crēopan; see* < *sēon.* Old French words having a similar development since ME. times are *degree, peer, clear, see* in 'bishop's *see*,' *grief, chief, piece.*

This *ī* sound, whether from open or close *ē*, is diphthongal in LdE., while it is but slightly so, if at all, in America.

219. OLD ENGLISH *ī, ȳ.* — OE. *ī* had the sound of *e* in *see* in OE. and ME. times, but in the sixteenth century it became diphthongal, and in the next century our present diph-

thong *ai* as in *drive*. Here belongs also OE. *ȳ*, originally like the German umlauted, or modified *u*, but before the close of OE. times the same as OE. *ī* with which it has since developed. The MnE. spelling of this diphthong is *i* or *y*, *y* being used especially at the end of a word. Examples of OE. *ī* are *ice* < *īs*; *wise* < *wīs*; *life* < *līf*; *ripe* < *rīpe*; *ride* < *rīdan*; *shine* < *scīnan*; *time* < *tīm*. Examples of OE. *ȳ* are *dry* < *drȳge*; *mice* < *mȳs*; *hive* < *hȳf*; *bride* < *brȳd*; *hide* < *hȳdan*. Some borrowed words that have had a similar development are *thrive*, *sky* < Norse *þrīvan*, *skȳ*; and *bribe*, *price*, *spice*, *nice*, *fine*, *quite* from Old French.

220. Old English *ō*. — OE. *ō* had the sound of the vowel in *mote*, *note*, and this was retained until the sixteenth century when the sound began to be the *ū* of *fool*, a change which was completed in the following century. The usual spelling of this vowel is *oo* (*o*) in MnE. Examples are *stool* < *stōl*; *cool* < *cōl*; *bloom* < *blōma*; *doom* < *dōm*; *food* < *fōd*; *tooth* < *tōð*; *goose* < *gōs*. Borrowed words with *ū* < *ō* are, for example, *prove*, *noon*, OE. *prōfian*, *nōna*, from Latin; or from Old French, *move*, *approve*, *reprove*. In LdE. this vowel is diphthongal while it is scarcely at all so in America.

221. Old English *ū*. — This vowel, like OE. *ī*, has developed into a diphthong in MnE. In OE. the vowel had the sound of *ū* in *rule*, and this was retained until early MnE. times, when the vowel began to be diphthongal. In the seventeenth century it assumed the quality of our modern diphthong *au* as in *house*. It is usually represented in MnE. by *ou* or *ow*, the latter especially at the end of words. Ex-

amples are *house* < *hūs*; *mouse* < *mūs*; *foul* < *fūl*; *out* < *ūt*; *loud* < *hlūd*; *thou* < *ðū*; *brow* < *brū*; *cow* < *cū*. Foreign words with *ou* in MnE. are *pound*, OE. *pund*, ME. *pūnd*, from the Latin; and from the Old French, *sound, round, crown, doubt, founder.*

The Short Vowels.

222. The short vowels may seem to present less of regularity in their development than the long vowels, although this is rather apparent than real. One reason for this apparent irregularity is, that short vowels have been more influenced by preceding and following consonants, and these factors must be taken into account more largely in explaining changes. In the case of long vowels also we have taken no account of shortening, leaving this to be discussed with the general changes affecting vowels, § 235. But it seems better to consider, in connection with the short vowel sounds, certain lengthenings that have affected large classes of words. Notwithstanding these new influences, however, there is much of regularity in the development of English short vowels.

223. Old English *a* (*ę*, *ea*, *ǫ*). — OE. *a*, with its variants *ea*, *ǫ*, and Mercian open *ę* (WS. *æ*) need not be traced separately since all became *a*, (*ā*) in ME. The OE. *a* had the sound of the first vowel in *artistic*; *ea* was a short diphthongal sound; Mercian *ę* (WS. *æ*) had the sound of the vowel in *hat*. Before nasals, OE. *a* had still another variant sometimes, an open *ǫ* sound, but this also was levelled under *a* in ME. ME. *a*, as in *artistic*, when re-

maining short, assumed the quality of the vowel in *hat, had,* in the seventeenth century, and this has since been retained. Examples are numerous, as *hat* < *hæt; ax* < *æx; flax* < *fleax; glad* < *glæd; fasten* < *fæstnian; saddle* < *sadol; man* < *mǫn.* With these words have developed some of foreign origin as *camel, candle* from Latin; *tan, manner, cattle, marry,* and many others from Old French.

In the development of OE. *ā* was noticed the influence of a preceding *w,* and a similar influence is to be noted in the case of short *a.* When preceded by *w* and remaining short ME. *a* assumed a short open *ǫ* quality, thus falling in with words having OE. short *ǫ,* § 227. Examples are *swallow* sb. < *swealwe; wallow* < *wealwian; watch* < *wæcce; swan* < *swan; wander* < *wandrian; what* < *hwæt.*

224. So far we have noted the development of ME. *a* when remaining short. There are also some important groups of words in which an original short *a* has been lengthened. When lengthened in ME., *ā* suffered another change in the eighteenth century becoming *ē* of *name.* Examples of this are *make* < *macian; ache* < *acan; acre* < *æcer; hazel* < *hæsel.* A number of Old French words ranged themselves with the sounds of this group in ME., as, for example, *grace, face, place, case, space, age.* This *ē* of *name* is diphthongal in LdE., as is *ē* from other sources, but it has usually only a slight vanish in American speech. A second lengthening of *a* occurred in the eighteenth century when the vowel was followed by final *r,* or *r* and a consonant. This is at present our long *a* of *arm.* Examples are

harm < *hearm*; *yarn* < *gearn*; *hard* < *heard*; *yard* < *geard*; *mark* < *mearc*; *sharp* < *scearp*. With these belong such loan words as *ark*, *martyr* from Latin; and *car*, *bar*, *part*, *chart*, *charm*, *depart*, from Old French. Finally ME. *a*, which had become *æ* of *hat* in the seventeenth century, lengthened in the eighteenth century before the voiceless spirants *f*, *th*, *s*, and in some cases before *n* followed by a consonant. Examples are, *grass* < *græs* (*gærs*); *glass* < *glæs*; *path* < *pæð*; *calf* < *cealf*; *craft* < *cræft*. Borrowed words showing a similar vowel are, from Latin, *plant*, *plaster*; from Norse, *cast*; from Old French, *task*, *aunt*, *dance*. In LdE. this vowel became *a* of *arm* in this century, while in America the sound is more commonly long to *æ* of *hat*, or half way between *æ* (*hat*) and *a* (*arm*).

225. OLD ENGLISH *e*. — OE. short *e* had approximately the sound of *e* in *help*, *men*, and there has been little variation from OE. to the present time when the vowel has remained short. Its history is therefore very simple, and only a few of many examples need be given. Some common words with OE. *e* are *west* < *west*; *help* < *helpan*; *melt* < *meltan*; *spell* < *spellan*; *yell* < *gellan*; *leather* < *leðer*; *fresh* < *fresc* (*fersc*). With these may be cited some examples of foreign words, as *pepper* from Latin, and *debt*, *jet*, *text*, *press*, *letter* from Old French.

Only one variation from OE. *e* is worthy of special note. When before nasals OE. *e* has become short *i* in a small group of words. Examples are *English*, *England* < *englisc*, *englaland*, the older *e* being still retained in spelling; *string* < *strenge*; *link* < *hlenca*; *mingle* < *mengan*; *singe* < *sen-*

gan; limp < lemp. OE. *e* when lengthend in ME. has had the same development as OE. *ē*, *ē*. Examples are *steal < stelan; eat < etan; field < feld.*

226. OLD ENGLISH *i, y.* — OE. *i* did not differ materially in sound from MnE. *i*. Like short *e* it is a very common sound and has been preserved from the earliest times in many words. With this is also to be placed OE. *y* which, though originally like German modified *u*, had become the same in sound as short *i*, at least in Mercian, before the close of OE. times. The history of the two has therefore been the same since the latter part of the OE. period. In MnE. spelling, *y* occurs especially at the end of words and before vocalic endings, *i* more commonly in other positions. Examples of OE. *i* are *still < stille; will < willa; milk < mioluc* (*milc*); *smith < smiŏ; wrist < wrist; fish < fisc.* Examples of words with OE. *y* are *kiss < cyssan; fill < fyllan; sin < syn; gild < gyldan.* Foreign words with a similar development are Latin, *dish, pitch, bishop;* Norse, *skill, skin;* and Old French, *pity, city, riches, fig.*

227. OLD ENGLISH *o.* — OE. short *o* was an open sound not unlike the vowel sound in *law*, but shorter. This sound when not lengthened, has been preserved with consistency in LdE., as in such words as *hot, lot.* The same sound is sometimes heard in America, but very commonly the written short *o* has a sound like *a* in *artistic.* This is true even among cultivated people, and it is more widely extended among those who have been uninfluenced by the schools. Examples of this sound are *ox < oxa; fox < fox; flock < floc; crop < crop; top < top; dot < dot.* Foreign

words with the same sound are *box*, *sock*, from the Latin, and from Old French *rob*, *honour*, *bottle*, *doctor*.

A special lengthening of OE. *o* has taken place regularly before the voiceless spirants *f*, *th*, *s*, and before *r* followed by a consonant. This lengthening seems to belong wholly to the nineteenth century. Examples are *off* < *of*; *moth* < *moðð*e; *loss* < *los*; *born* < *boren*. Borrowed words are *fork* from Latin, *cord*, *order*, *fortune* from Old French. In American English a similar lengthening has also taken place before the gutturals *ng* and *g* as in *long*, *song*, *log*, *dog*.

228. OLD ENGLISH *u*. — The OE. short *u* had the sound of *u* in *full*, *pull*, and this was preserved in ME. times. In its regular development short *u* has lost its lip-rounding in MnE., and has become the simple unrounded vowel of *but*, no longer a *u* sound in any strict sense of the word. The MnE. representative of this sound has remained *u*, although it is sometimes written *o* before nasals by imitation of early French spelling, as in *son*, *some*. Examples of OE. short *u* are *sun* < *sunne*; *spun* < *spunnen*; *begun* < *begunnen*; *tongue* < *tunge*; *nut* < *hnutu*. Borrowed words with a similar *u* are *plum* from Latin, *ugly* from the Norse; and *truss*, *trouble*, *double*, *suffer*, *button* from Old French.

While the sound of *u* has regularly become *u* of *but* in MnE., it has retained its original sound in a few words especially under the influence of a preceding labial consonant. Examples are *full*, *bull*, *bushel*, *pull*, *put*, *wood*, *wool*, *wolf*, *woman*, all of which had *u* in OE. or ME. The words are Teutonic and English, with the exception of *bushel* which is Old French, and *pull*, *put*, the origin of which is uncertain.

229. Attention has been called in several cases to the influence of preceding or following consonants. Some other examples will also be mentioned under the discussion of lenthening of vowels, § 236. We may here note the special influence of final *r*, or *r* followed by a consonant. Under these conditions as noted above ME. *a* was lengthened in MnE. times. The remaining short vowels in the same circumstances have become an obscure vowel, sometimes little more than a glide as in *her, sir.* Examples of this change are *earl* < *eorl*; *churl* < *ceorl*; *earth* < *eorðe*; *worth* < *weorð*; *her* < *hire*; *stir* < *styrian*; *dirt* < *drit* (*dirt*); *world* < *weoruld*; *word* < *word*; *spur* < *spura*; *further* < *furðor*; *spurn* < *spurnian.* Foreign words early introduced show a similar influence, as in *term, mercy, person, servant, turn, purse, purpose,* from Old French, and *whirl* from Norse.

230. Besides this more common development of *e, i, o, u* before final *r*, or *r* followed by a consonant, should be noted an *ar* sound, which has developed from an original *er* in some words. This change began in ME., but was perhaps carried out more fully in early MnE. times. Examples of it are, *hart* < *heort*; *heart* < *heorte*; *star* < *steorra*; *far* < *feor*; *starve* < *steorfan*; *smart* < *smeortan*; *dark* < *deorc.* Foreign words were similarly influenced, as the Norse *start,* and Old French *farm, parsley, parson* a variant of *person.*

The New Diphthongs.

231. It has been already pointed out that the OE. diphthongs became monophthongs in ME., § 215. While this

was taking place, new diphthongs were being formed in the ME. period. These arose from the vocalization after a vowel of the consonants *w*, *g*(*h*), according to the following general scheme:—

1. A palatal *æ*, or *e* + *g*(*h*) gave *ai*, *ei*.
2. A guttural *a*, or *o* + *w*, *g*(*h*) gave *au*, *ou*.
3. An *e*, or *i* + *w*, gave *eu*(*iu*).

The original quantity of the vowel in these cases had less influence upon the diphthong than its quality. The latter should really be taken into account in most cases. For example, it is important to note at least two *ou* diphthongs, one with open *ǫ*, the other with close *o*, for its first element. In the case of *au*, *ou*, *eu*, the second element of the diphthong was often written *w*, especially at the end of words. Similarly the second element of the *ai*, *ei* diphthongs was written *y* when final, and both these spellings have been retained in some MnE. words.

232. Of these ME. diphthongs only one, *iu* < *eu*(*iu*), has been preserved in MnE., the rest having become monophthongs since the ME. period. Thus *au*, *ǫu* have become a simple vowel with the sound of open $\bar{ǫ}$ in *all*, while *ou* in other cases is now long $\bar{o}$ as in *know*. The diphthongs *ai*, *ei* also, which were separate in the early ME. period came to have the same sound in late ME., this becoming in MnE. the sound of long $\bar{e}$ in *name*. Examples of ME. *ai* are *day* < *dæg*; *may* < *mæg*; *maiden* < *mægden*; of *ei* are *play* < *plege*; *way* < *weg*; *sail* < *segl*; *thane* < *ðegen*. Words with ME. *au* are *draw* < *dragan*;

haw < *hawe*; *thaw* < *ðāwan*; *maw* < *maga*; with *ǫu* are *brought* < *brohte*; *thought* < *ðōhte*; *wrought* < *wrohte* (*worhte*); with *ou* are *grow* < *grōwan*; *blow* < *blōwan*, 'bloom'; *flow* < *flōwan*. Examples of *eu* are *hue* < *hīew*, ME. *hewe*; *new* < *ni*(*e*)*we*, ME. *newe*; *true* < *trēow*, ME. *trewe*; *knew* < *cnēow*, ME. *knew*. Foreign words with similar diphthongs associated themselves with these in ME. Examples of borrowed words with *ai* or *ei* are Norse *bait*, *raise*; Old French *pay*, *claim*, *chain*, *streit*, *veil*. Some borrowed words with ME. *au* are Norse *law*, *flaw*; Old French *default*, *cause*, *fraud*, *pause*. Examples of ME. *eu*(*iu*) are Old French *abuse*, *excuse*, *fume*, *mute*, *pure*. To these diphthongs must be added one which occurs only in borrowed words, and these almost wholly from Old French. This is the diphthong *oi*, as in *joy*, *choice*, *join*, *toil*, § 204. In but one common word, *boy*, is the diphthong of Teutonic origin, and this is also borrowed, probably from a Low German source.

233. We have in the preceding sections traced the more regular development of the vowel sounds from Old, through Middle, to Modern English. We may summarize the history of English sounds from the modern standpoint in a table giving the more important sources of MnE. vowels. It has naturally been impossible to add minor sources to any extent, and some minor distinctions have been disregarded for simplicity. The table will however give an idea of the regularity of sound changes affecting large classes of words. In citing OE. vowels, the representatives of the Mercian dialect are given.

THE LONG VOWELS.

ā . . .	OE. ea, ME. a + r, r + cons.	are, arm.
	OE. ME. e + r, r + cons., sometimes	star, carve.
ǣ . . .	OE. ME. a, ǣ + r, usually	hare, there.
	OE. ę(a), ME. a + f, th, s, sometimes	calf, bath, fast.
ē (ēy) .	OE. ǣ e + g(h), ME. ai, ei	day, way.
	OE. a, ME. ā	name, same.
ī (īy) .	OE. ę̄, ēa, ME. ę̄	heat, leaf.
	OE. ē, ēo, ME. ē	feel, thief.
ǭ (law) .	OE. a + w, g(h), ME. au	haw, draw.
	OE. ă̄ǫ̆ + w, g(h), ME. ǫu	bought, thought.
ō (ōu) .	OE. ā, ME. ǭ	home.
	OE. ŏ + w, g(h), ME. ou	grow, (rain)bow.
ū (ūw) .	OE. ME. ō	doom.

THE SHORT VOWELS.

a . . .	Not common except from OE. ME. o, especially in America	not, lot.
ʉ (but) .	OE. ME. u	sun, run.
ə (her) .	OE. ME. e, i, o, u + r, r + cons.	her, bird, word, spur.
æ (man)	OE. ę, ea, a(ǫ), ME. a	hat, man.
e . . .	OE. ME. e	helm.
i . . .	OE. i, y, ME. i(y)	sit, pit.
ǫ . . .	OE. ME. o	not, lot.
u . . .	OE. ME. u after labials	full, pull.

THE DIPHTHONGS.

ai . .	OE. ī, ȳ, ME. ī(ȳ)	while, mice.
au . .	OE. ME. ū	house.
iu . .	OE. e + w, ME. eu(iu)	few, new.
oi . .	ME. oi, § 232	join, choice.

GENERAL CHANGES AFFECTING VOWELS.

234. So far we have considered the vowel sounds in their natural and ordinary development without regard to minor influences. But vowels frequently undergo other changes that are themselves regular in great measure, and so may be stated in definite terms. As in the preceding discussion, we shall here consider first the changes affecting the vowels of stressed syllables, after which those affecting unstressed syllables will receive attention. Of the former, the most important are shortening, lengthening, contraction, and substitution. Such changes are not peculiar to English, since they are constantly going on in all languages, but they are essential as modifications of the laws already illustrated. As to the character of the changes mentioned, the first two are quantitative only, the last two may affect the quantity or the quality of vowels, or both.

235. SHORTENING. — In ME., OE. long vowels were usually shortened when before two or more consonants, or when before a suffix making a second syllable. In late ME., or early MnE., vowels were often shortened before dental consonants. Examples of the first are, *friend* <

frēond; slept < *slǣpte; kept* < *cēpte; health* < *hǣlþ; breast* < *brēost; bladder* < *blǣddre.* Some words which show the second case of shortening are, *shepherd* compared with *sheep, wisdom* with *wise, sheriff* with *shire, chapman* 'a huckster' compared with *cheap, bonfire* with *bone.* Shortening in this second case does not differ essentially from that first mentioned, since in most if not all cases the short vowel of the compound was followed by two consonants in earlier, or later forms. The third case of shortening is seen in the following words, arranged according to the dental before which the shortening occurs. Before *d*: *red* < *rēad; dread* < *drǣdan; shed* < *scēadan; dead* < *dēad; blood* < *blōd.* Before *t*: *let* < *lǣtan; wet* < *wǣt; hot* < *hāt; fat* < *fǣt.* Before *th*: *breath* < *brǣþ; death* < *dēaþ.* Before *n*: *ten* < *tēon; none* < *nān.*

236. LENGTHENING. — Examples of lengthening are even more frequent and more regular. Before the close of OE. times, short vowels were lengthened when final in monosyllables. Good examples of these are to be seen in the personal pronouns *hē, mē, shē, wē,* which originally had short vowels. The special ME. lengthenings are of accented vowels in open syllables, that is when final or in polysyllables before a single medial consonant; or when before certain consonant combinations. The first of these is illustrated by *hazel* < *hæsel; naked* < *nacod; ache* < *acan; make* < *macian; steal* < *stelan; eat* < *etan; weave* < *wefan.* The consonant combinations before which short vowels were lengthened are *ld, nd,* sometimes *rd, mb, n* + palatal *g,* and *n* + *s,* or *t.* Before *ld,* short *a, e, i, o* were lengthened, as shown

by *old* < *eald*; *field* < *feld*; *child* < *cild*; *gold* < *gold*. Before *nd*, *i*, and *u* were lengthened, as in *wind* < *windan*; *find* < *findan*; *hound* < *hund*; *ground* < *grund*. Few cases of lengthening before *rd*, *mb*, have been preserved in MnE., but these may be exemplified by *beard* < *berd*; *board* < *bord*; *hoard* < *hord*; *climb* < *climban*; *comb* < *camb* (*cǫmb*); *tomb* < ME. *tombe*, originally Old French. The lengthening before *n* + palatal *g* applies only to the vowel *a*, and this combination occurs only in words from the OF., borrowed in ME. times. Examples are, *change*, *grange*, *strange*, *danger*, *manger*, *angel*. A similar lengthening of ME. *u* occurs before *n* + *s* (*ce*), and sometimes before *n* + *t*. Examples of the first are *bounce*, *flounce*, *frounce*, *ounce*, *pounce*, *trounce*, *announce*, *pronounce*; of the second, *count*, *mount*, *fount*, *amount*, *account*.

237. Some vowel lengthenings have occurred since ME. times. For example, the vowel *a* before the voiceless *f*, *th*, *s*, and *n* + *cons.*, § 224, is really a late lengthening, having separated from short *a* in the eighteenth century. The vowel *a* has also been lengthened before *l*, as in *all*, *small*, *salt*, in which the vowel was short in OE. and ME. Lengthening has also occurred in America in the case of short *o*, as in *off*, *froth*, *loss*, *long*, *frog*. An examination of all the examples seems to show that this lengthening is before voiceless *f*, *th*, *s*, or before hard *g* and *ng*. A special form of lengthening, called compensation, or compensatory lengthening, has been common to all periods of the language. It occurs to a vowel when the next following consonant is vocalized, § 279. This accounts for the

quantity of the vowel in OE. *gōs* 'goose' < **gans*, Ger. *Gans*; and *tōð* 'tooth' < **tanð*.[1] Compensatory lengthening has also occurred in *night, light, bright* < ME. *niht, liht, briht*, the short *i* lengthening in compensation for the *h* which became vocalized. The loss of *r* in late MnE. has caused compensatory lengthening in the preceding vowel, as may be seen by comparing the pronunciation of *fa*(*r*) where *r* is lost with *far away*, or any combination in which *r* is still retained.

238. CONTRACTION. — By contraction is meant the fusion of two vowels into one. This may occur within a stressed syllable, or a stressed and unstressed syllable may be brought together, as when a consonant is lost, or two words are united in a compound. Contraction has occurred in the development of many English words, as in *lord* < *hlāford* (**hlaf-weard*); *lark* < *lāwerce*; *friend* < *frēond* (**frijond*). Examples of two words united into one by contraction are *don* < *do* + *on*, *doff* < *do* + *off*. Contraction within a stressed syllable is illustrated by OE. *ēa*, *ēo*, true diphthongs which became *ę̄*, *ē* in ME., § 215.

239. SUBSTITUTION. — Occasional variation in the vowel of stressed syllables, which cannot be so easily assigned to a phonetic cause, may be classed under the general name substitution. This seldom, if ever, takes place in the case of long vowels, and in short vowels it is limited to those which do not differ greatly in pitch, or in position of the vocal organs when producing them. Thus *e*, which in pitch stands between *i* on the one side and *æ* (*man*) on the other, may

[1] Sievers-Cook *Grammar of Old English*, § 66.

sometimes be substituted for either of the above vowels. In the same way, *i* or *æ* (*man*) may be occasionally substituted for *e* where there is no easily perceived cause of the change. Examples of the substitution of *e* for *i* are *pepper* < OE. *pipor; chest* < OE. *cist, cest.* Both of these are originally Latin words, and it will be seen that one of them has a form with *e* in OE. Another word not borrowed may also be cited, as OE. *wer*, cognate with Lat. *vir*, still preserved in the compound *werwolf.* Examples of *e* for *æ* (*man*) are *together* < *togædere; whether* < *hwæðer*, the substitution in these cases being probably owing to lack of stress in the sentence. Short *i* for *e* is found in *willow* < *welig; rid* < *hreddan.* In *pretty* < *prætig* the pronunciation with short *i* shows a double change, first to short *e* kept in the spelling. An example of *æ* (*man*) for *e* is *thrash* (*thresh*) < *ðerscan.* Other examples sometimes occur as of *a—o* in *chap—chop, strap—strop.* A more exact study of phonetics will probably reveal some phonetic reason for all these changes.

240. The preceding general vowel changes apply especially to stressed syllables, although shortening and contraction also occur in unstressed syllables in English. In fact under the strong accent of English no long vowels are preserved in unstressed syllables. Moreover, in addition to shortening, the vowels of unstressed syllables suffer obscuration in sound, and in many cases ultimate loss. In this way the inflectional endings, belonging originally to English speech, have been gradually lost until few of them now remain. Other parts of the word, not inflectional, have also been gradually obscured and finally have wholly disap-

peared, accounting for many abbreviated and contracted forms. There are thus certain general vowel changes peculiar to unstressed syllables, and accounting for many changes which words undergo. The most important are weakening, syncope, apheresis, and apocope.

241. WEAKENING. — The obscuration in sound that vowels of unstressed syllables undergo, may be called by the general name weakening. In Old English, unstressed vowels of whatever original quality had weakened to *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, which alone could stand in unstressed syllables. In Middle English these were still further weakened to *e*, the usual vowel in syllables not bearing principal stress. Since Middle English times the process of weakening has gone on to the total loss of many unstressed vowels, as shown in the following paragraphs, while a new vowel weakening has also resulted. This influence, however, has been somewhat modified in late Modern English, especially in America, by the attempt to follow the written form of words.[1] Notwithstanding this, the vowels of unstressed syllables in Modern English have commonly come to have the quality of the vowels in *hit* or *but*. One form of vowel weakening is that by which *i*, *u*, became the semi-vowels *y*, *w*. The first of these is shown by the development of *y* initially in French or Latin words beginning with *u*, originally the diphthong *iu* as in *use*, *union*, *Utica*. These words are phonetically *yuse*, *yunion*, etc., the *y* having come from the unstressed *i* of the original diphthong *iu*. A similar *y* has developed

[1] Both Johnson and Walker regarded that pronunciation as best which followed most nearly the written form, and in this they have often been followed by American lexicographers.

from medial *i* in many words, § 276. The weakening of *u* to *w* is less common. An example is *one*, phonetically like *won*, the initial *w* being apparently due to the following vowel sound; *woof* < *ōwef* shows a similar *w* by weakening.

242. SYNCOPE. — Syncope is the loss of a vowel within the word. This has taken place in the inflectional endings of large classes of words in English. For example, the possessive singular and the whole plural of nouns ended in *-es* in Middle English. The syncopation of *e* in most words has since reduced this *-es* to *-s*, the common form of the possessive singular and of the plural. Similar syncopation has taken place in the *-ed* ending of weak verbs, except those ending in *t* or *d*. In the *-en* participial ending of strong verbs, the syncopation of *e* has left only vocalic *n*, § 279, and in *born*, *torn*, *thrown*, etc., *e* has wholly disappeared from the written form. Other examples of syncopation affecting the form of particular words are, *adze* < *adesa*; *ant* < *æmete*; *else* < *elles*; *hence* < ME. *henes*; *mint* < *mynet*, Lat. *moneta*. In *Scotch* < *Scotisc*, *Welsh* < **Welisc*, *i* has suffered a similar syncopation. Syncopation has also occurred in the development of *either* < *āghwæðer*, and in many other cases which might be cited.

243. APHERESIS. — By apheresis, or aphesis, is meant the loss of an unaccented vowel at the beginning of a word. This also has affected certain classes of words. For example the OE. prefix *ge-* became *i*(*y*)- in ME., after which it was wholly dropped by apheresis, such archaic forms as *y-clept* not representing MnE. in any true sense. This applies especially to past participles of weak verbs and to

many compounds. There has been a similar apheresis of *e-* in words from the OF. beginning with *esc-*, giving *squire* < OF. *esquier; scorn* < OF. *escorner; scour* < OF. *escurer.* One of the earliest examples of apheresis occurring in an English word is in *bishop* < *biscop* < Lat. *episcopus.* Other common words illustrating the change are *down* < ME. *adoun* < *of-dūne; wayward* and *lone* from *awayward, alone.* As a result of apheresis double forms occur, one showing the loss of the initial vowel and the other retaining it. Of native words may be mentioned *alone—lone, adown—down, away—way.* Foreign words sometimes show similar double forms due to the same cause, as *esquire—squire, escape—scape, account—count, apprentice—prentice.* As a rule, however, only one of these forms may be said to belong to standard English, the other being antiquated or colloquial.

244. APOCOPE. — This term is used for the loss of a final vowel. It therefore applies to the loss of every vowel ending since Old English times, and fuller illustrations of it naturally belong to the subject of inflections. Besides all final *e's* of Middle English, whether inflectional or otherwise, have since suffered apocope, although they are often retained in the written form after long vowels, as in *ale, mete, mite, more, mute.* Many other examples of apocope might be cited.

CHAPTER XIII.

MUTATION AND GRADATION.

245. It has been said that the real value of a history of English sounds is in its relation to etymology. From this standpoint a treatment of English vowels would be incomplete without some explanation of their relations to each other, or what may be called vowel variation due to causes not yet considered. To illustrate, the most superficial observation of many common English words shows that some of them which are clearly connected in meaning, have strikingly different vowels. Examples are found especially in those words which have one vowel in the singular, and a different one in the plural, as *man—men, foot—feet, mouse—mice.* Many others, although not connected by inflection are closely allied words, as *gold—gild, brood—breed, full—fill.* Another class of words with different vowels in different stems of the same word, is that small but important group of verbs, called strong or irregular, which distinguishes preterit tense and perfect participle by a different vowel from the present. Examples are *drive—drove—driven, fly—flew—flown, begin—began—begun, bear—bore—borne,* and many others. The peculiarities of these two classes of words are explained by two kinds of vowel variation, the first called mutation or *umlaut,* the second, gradation or *ablaut.*

Mutation.

246. One of the commonest phenomena of Old English, as of German, is what is called mutation, or sometimes by the German name umlaut. Mutation might have been applied to any change of vowel or consonant. As commonly used, however, it is limited to that change in a vowel which is produced by a vowel, or sometimes by a consonant, of the following syllable. In Old English, several vowels, and even the palatal consonants, could produce mutation, but the only one of these changes preserved in its effects to Modern English is the *i*-mutation, as it is called. Considering for the time only the Mercian dialect, from which our modern speech has sprung, the phenomena of *i*-mutation may be stated in this way. Whenever in the earliest English an accented *a*, *o*, *u* long or short, was followed by an *i* or the semi-vowel *y* in the succeeding syllable, they changed according to this scheme: —

a (ǫ for a) became e.	ā became ę̄ (open) WS. ǣ.
o became y (e).	ō became ē (close).
u became y.	ū became ȳ.

The cause of this change, which is a wide reaching one, is often obscured by the fact that after mutation the *i* or *y* was frequently weakened to *e* or lost altogether, so that many cases of the change can only be determined by a comparison with the cognate languages, especially Gothic which does not show mutation. The examples will give some idea of how many words are to be connected etymologically, although affected by this change.

247. SHORT *a* TO *e*. — The word *man* with its plural *men* has been already cited as an example of mutation. This change of *a* to *e* was not, however, a plural sign in Old English, since the form *men* occurred in the dative singular as well. Later the mutated form established itself as the plural in such words. The change from *a* to *e* is also exemplified by certain adjectives, *English* < *Englisc* (**Angle-isc*) ; *French* < *Frencisc* (**Frankisc*) ; *Welsh* < *Welisc* (**Wahlisc*), connecting it with *Wales; Kent* < **Cantium*, the first syllable of which is seen in Canterbury. *I*-mutation of *a* also explains the connection of *bench* and *bank, fell* and *fall, length* and *long* (*lang*), *sell* and *sale, tell* and *tale*. In some words, as said above, mutation is not evident except by comparison with the cognate languages. For example *bed* appears in Gothic as *badi; else* < *elles* is allied to Latin *alius; fen* is Gothic *fani* 'mud'; *guest* < *gest* is Gothic *gast* (**gastiz*) ; *hen* < **hanja*, feminine of *hana* 'a cock,' is cognate with Latin *cano* 'sing.'

248. SHORT *o* TO *y* (*e*). — The *i*-mutation of *o* was occasionally *e* in Old English, but this is seldom preserved. In one word *eaves* < *efes* this *e* from *o* is found with lengthening which took place in ME. times. The more common OE. mutation of *o* is *y*, although this is strictly mutation of an older *u* which became *o* in Old English. Examples are *gold—gylden*, Eng. *gild; kitchen* < *cycene* < Lat. *coquina; mint* < *mynet* < Lat. *moneta*. To these may be added *first* < *fyrst* compared with *fore; kernel* < *cyrnel* compared with *corn*.

249. SHORT *u* TO *y*. — It has already been pointed out, § 226, that this *y* < *u* became, even in Old English, equivalent in sound to short *i*, the spelling on this account becoming *i* or *y*. Examples therefore often show *i* in MnE., as in *kin* < *cyn* compared with Gothic *kuni*; *fill* < *fyllan* compared with *full*, both being united in *fulfil*. Two words borrowed from the Latin into Old English also show this mutation, *inch* < *ynce* < Lat. *uncia*, and *pit* < *pyt* < Lat. *puteus*. In *busy*, *business*, we preserve the sound of the mutated vowel, OE. *bysig*, but the orthography has gone back to the unchanged *u*, or perhaps was influenced by French spelling.

250. LONG *ā* TO *ę̄* (WS. *ǣ*). — The Mercian open *ę̄* (WS. *ǣ*) is the mutation of OE. *ā* from whatever source, and this makes it possible to connect etymologically certain words with MnE. *ō* and *ī* (*ea*, *ee*). Thus *heal* < *hælan* is from the same root as *whole* < *hāl*; *lead* < *lædan* is allied to *lode* < *lād* in the word *lodestone*, which is thus the 'leading stone.' This also shows the connection of *seed* < *sæd* with *sow* < *sāwan*, and *deal* < *dæl* with *dole* < *dāl*, the one being the mutated, the other the unmutated form. In some cases one of the words connected has been shortened and the relation of the two is therefore not clear from MnE. forms. For example *heat* < *hætu* is allied to *hot* < *hāt*, the latter having been shortened since OE. times. So *breadth* (*brædu*) with shortened vowel is derived from *broad* < *brād*, and *any* < *ænig* is allied to *one* < *ān*.

251. LONG *ō* TO *ē*. — The mutated forms in this case are well illustrated by the plurals *geese*, *teeth*, *feet*, the OE. forms

of singular and plural being *gōs—gēs*, *tōð—tēð*, *fōt—fēt*. But many words in which the connection is not so evident really spring from the same root. Thus, *book* < *bōc* and *beech* < *bēce* are supposed to be allied, the peculiarity of the union being usually explained by the fact, that in the earliest Teutonic writing the runes were commonly cut upon beech wood. In the same way are to be connected *doom* < *dōm* 'judgment' and *deem* < *dēman* 'to judge,' while it is easy to see a similar connection between *food* < *fōd* and *feed* < *fēdan*, *blood* < *blōd* and *bleed* < *blēdan*, *brood* < *brōd* and *breed* < *brēdan*. So also *green* < *grēne* is from the root of *grow* < *grōwan*, indicating that this colour name was first applied by our Teutonic ancestors to 'growing things.' Many other examples might also be given of this interesting change.

252. LONG *ū* TO *ȳ*. — This also is one of the most important of mutation changes, but in tracing it in Modern English we must remember that both *ū* and *ȳ* have since become the diphthongs *au*, *ai* (written *i*, *y*). This mutation like the preceding one is preserved in plurals, as *mice*, *lice*, beside *mouse*, *louse*, the OE. words being *mūs—mȳs*, *lūs—lȳs*. It also explains the plural *kine*, archaic and poetical to the prose plural *cows*. The OE. words are *cū—cȳ*, to the last of which a second plural sign *-en* (*ne*) was later added, making *kine* a double plural. Another noteworthy example is Shakespeare's word *file*, as in the line (Macb. III, i, 65),

> "For Banquo's issue have I *filed* my mind."

Instead of this we now say *defile* with a French prefix, but *file* is the true form from OE. *fȳlan*, mutation showing its

connection with *foul* < *fūl*. To the latter is also allied our word *filth* < *fȳlð* with vowel shortening. By this mutation also are connected *proud* < *prūt* and *pride* < *prȳte*, as well as our *bride* < *brȳd*, the form without mutation appearing in German *Braut*.

253. From this discussion it may be seen how important is a knowledge of mutation to an understanding of the relations of English words. It becomes as may be inferred a fundamental principle of English etymology. While this is so, mutation can not be regarded as a characteristic feature of Teutonic, since it is not found in all members of the group. It is true something akin to *i*-mutation occurred in early Teutonic, every short *e* followed by an *i* or *y* in the next syllable becoming *i*; but this change was also produced in other ways, and it is therefore not classed with mutation. Of mutation proper, Gothic the oldest member of the Teutonic group shows no trace, and the remaining members exhibit the change carried out with varying degrees of completeness. Modern German is particularly important for its mutation, since the original quality of mutated vowels has been preserved to a far greater extent than in English.

254. It is interesting to know that an attempt has been made to determine the chronology of the *i*-mutation in English, and the time of the change has been established at least with a fair degree of accuracy. This has been done by a study of the oldest manuscripts with special relation to the borrowed words entering Old English at various times. It is evident, that foreign words entering the language while mutation was in force would be affected in the same way as

genuine English words, while those borrowed after it had spent its force would remain unchanged. For example, Latin *uncia* became, when borrowed, OE. *ynce*, now *inch*; so Latin *molina* gave OE. *myln* now *mill*. On the other hand, since no French word shows the change, it is clear, that mutation could have been no longer in force when French words were borrowed. From a study of borrowed words,[1] therefore, it has been made out that *i*-mutation probably began to be in force as early as the beginning of the seventh century (600 A.D.), and that it had spent itself about the close of that century (700 A.D.). About 650 A.D. *i*-mutation may be said to have been most active, all words capable of the change being affected at that time.

GRADATION.

255. Gradation is the name given to a distinct vowel variation by which a root may appear in two or more forms even in the inflection of a single word. For example, *begin*, *began*, *begun* are clearly modifications of the same root. Yet the variation of the vowel in these words remains a striking fact which can not be explained by mutation, the form of vowel variation already mentioned. Moreover, while gradation is characteristic of the Teutonic verb, it is found to some extent in other members of the Indo-European family. For example, the Greek verb λείπω appears with three forms of the root in λείπω, λέ-λοιπ-α, ἔ-λιπ-ον, that is, with the vowels *ei*, *oi*, *i*, in different stems. The reason why this variation of the root vowel is more noticeable in

[1] Alois Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der Lehnworte im Altenglischen*, p. 126.

the Teutonic verb, is that gradation became the characteristic means of distinguishing tense in the Teutonic strong verb. The full discussion of this latter relation belongs to the subject of verbal inflections, § 413.

256. But gradation is not connected with verbs alone, notwithstanding it plays so great a part in the Teutonic verbal system. It may also account for different forms of the same root, whether they appear in nouns, adjectives, or other parts of speech. That is, a root may appear with different vowels in words of wholly different syntactical relation. To illustrate, the root of the English verb *bear* appears also in the Scotch *bearn*, 'child,' in *bier* (for the dead), *barrow* of 'wheel-barrow,' *barm* an old word for the lap, while in Old English there was also the word *beorn* 'hero.' In a similar way, with English *burn* are connected *brimstone* < *bren-stone*, *brand*, *brindle*, *brine*, all of which have in some way the idea of 'burning.' If we take the Latin for our examples, we may find a similar gradation represented in *fidere* (**feidere*) 'to trust,' beside *foedus* 'a compact,' and *fides* 'faith.' The Greek might also be cited for similar phenomena, showing that gradation unites words of all classes.

257. Nor is the importance of gradation confined to the assistance it gives in connecting words of a particular language. It frequently happens that the words derived from a single root are not all preserved in any single language. Moreover, there may be sufficient change of meaning in some of these cases so that a common relationship cannot be asserted on the basis of signification alone. It may be

also that the consonants of the words do not warrant the assertion of kinship. When this is so, gradation may itself show clear kinship, even though the words are in different languages. Gradation, therefore, helps to connect etymologically words that could not otherwise be connected. To illustrate, take for example the Indo-European root *ten* 'stretch.' Even in Sanskrit it had separated into *tan* 'stretch,' and *tan* 'resound,' each of which has a number of allied words, as shown in the following lists: —

1. Skt. *tan* 'stretch,' Skt. *tanú* 'thin'; Gk. *ταναός* 'stretched,' *τένων* 'sinew,' *τόνος* 'stretching, tone' where the two meanings unite; Lat. *tenuis* 'thin,' *i.e.* 'stretched,'; Goth. *þanian*, OE. *ðenian*, Ger. *dehnen*, all meaning 'stretch.'

2. Skt. *tan* 'resound'; Skt. *tanyatú* 'thunder'; Gk. *τόνος* 'tone' as above; Lat. *tonare* 'thunder'; OE. *ðunor* 'thunder'; ON. *þorr* 'thunder,' and the name of the Teutonic god *Thor*.

So from the I-E. root *nem* 'allot' we have Gk. *νέμω* 'allot,' *νέμος* 'pasture,' *νομή* 'division,' *νόμος* 'law'; Lat. *nemus* 'grove'; OE. *niman* 'to take.' And these examples might be greatly increased if necessary to show the importance of gradation as well as mutation in understanding the relationships of words, not only in one language but in the broader field of etymology. Gradation may thus be considered a test of accuracy as highly important for vowels, as the law of the first consonant shift is for consonants.

258. But in order to appreciate the value of gradation, we must understand how far it represents a regular vowel variation, that is in what respect it deserves to be called

a law. In the first place, then, gradation depends upon certain regular vowel differences which have been handed down from primitive Indo-European. These differences originated in variations of quality which a vowel assumed under varying kinds of stress, or accent. For some idea of the character of the Indo-European accent see the chapter on Accent, § 294. Some idea of the changes a vowel may undergo by reason of stress may be obtained from present English speech, although there is no exact parallel to the change called gradation. Take for example the word *can* in the following sentences, the accent representing sentence stress, rather than word stress: 1, *cán he go?* 2, *can he gó?* 3, *can hé go?* If these sentences are spoken with the stress as indicated, *can* in the first sentence will have the short *æ* sound of *man, hat;* in the second sentence the word has an obscure vowel somewhat like the sound of *u* in *but;* while in the last case, with the strong stress upon *he,* the vowel of *can* quite disappears, nothing remaining in ordinary speech but the consonants *kn,* as in the second syllable of *token.* In other words, the vowel of *can* in these three sentences shows a gradation series *æ, ə* (obscure vowel), — (no vowel). In something of the same way the vowels of the Indo-European assumed various grades, and, finally, becoming fixed in definite series, they were handed down to the various branches of the family. This accounts therefore for the differentiation of the Indo-European root into many words, while it also gives a test for the association of one word with another, since the vowel of each allied word must be traced to a certain grade of a particular gradation series.

259. Of these gradation series, six were distinguished in Indo-European. Each of these series had three or more grades in one of which the vowel is entirely wanting, the chief accent resting on one of the following syllables. In the derived languages, however, this grade sometimes acquired a new vowel, the new vowel in Teutonic being *u* before liquids and nasals, and *a* in other cases. Another weak grade with an obscure vowel is due to secondary stress, and there are also strong grades, one, two, sometimes four. The six gradation series of Indo-European are as follows: —

		Strong Grades.		Weak Grades.	
1.	e-series	é, ḗ	o, ō	(e)	—
2.	a-series	á	ā	(a)	—
3.	o-series	ó	ō	(o)	—
4.	ē-series	ḗ	ō	ə	—
5.	ā-series	ā́	ō	ə	—
6.	ō-series		ó	ə	—

By the symbol *ə* is represented an obscure vowel, by the dash (—) the grade with no vowel. The accented vowel represents the strongest grade.

260. These six Indo-European series, by the vowel changes affecting Teutonic, became united into two, those numbered 4, 5, 6 falling in with 1, and 3 uniting with 2. Early Teutonic, therefore, presents the gradation series,

1.	e-series	e, ē	a, ō	(e)(ə)	—
2.	a-series	a	ō	(a)	—

From these two series have sprung the six classes of the Teutonic strong verb, the special discussion of which belongs to the subject of the English verb, § 413. We may still however exemplify, from other than verbal roots, the grada-

tion variations peculiar to Teutonic vowels. These, as will be seen from the above series, are the *e*—*a* (I-E. *e*—*o*), the *ē*—*ō*, and the *a*—*ō* gradations.

261. THE *e*—*a* GRADATION. — This series may be illustrated by a root already given, the I-E. **nem* 'allot,' § 257. The strong *e*-grade appears in Gk. *νέμω* 'I allot,' *νέμος* 'pasture'; Lat. *nemus* 'grove'; Goth. *niman* 'to take'; OE. *nim-ung* 'taking.' The *a*-grade appears in Gk. *νομή* 'division,' *νόμος* 'law'; OE. *nam* 'took.' The weakest grade with no vowel in I-E., but a new *u*-vowel in Teutonic, occurs in OE. *ge-numen* 'taken.' The *e*—*a* of this series may be followed by the semi-vowels *i̯*, *u̯* when the diphthongs *ei*—*ai*, *eu*—*au* result. The *ei*—*ai* forms may be illustrated from the I-E. root **dheigh*. The first strong grade appears in Gk. *τεῖχος* 'wall'; Goth. *deigan* 'knead, mould'; the second in Gk. *τοῖχος* 'wall'; Goth. *daigs*; OE. *dāh* 'dough'; the weak grade, where *i* alone appears, is seen in Lat. *figūra*, Goth. *ga-digis* 'thing formed.' For the *eu*—*au* forms we may take the I-E. root **preu̯s* 'burn, freeze.' The first strong grade appears in OE. *frēosan* 'freeze'; the second in the preterit of the same verb *frēas* 'froze'; the weak grade, with *u* (*o*) only, in Lat. *prūna* (**prusna*) 'burning coal'; Eng. *frost*, or the old adjective *frore* < *froren* (**frosen*).

262. THE *ē*—*ō* GRADATION. — This may represent an I-E. *ē*—*ō* series, or the Teutonic *ō* may spring from an I-E. *ā* by the regular change in early Teutonic. The weak grade may appear as *e* < I-E. *e*, or as *a* < I-E. *ə*, except before a liquid or a nasal. The I-E. *ē*—*ō* series may be illustrated

from the root **ped.* The strong *ē*-grade appears in Lat. *pēs* 'foot,' the *ō*-grade in OE. *fōt* 'foot'; and in Goth. *sētun*, OE. *sæton* 'they sat,' OE. *sōt* 'soot,' *i.e.* settling. The weak grade appears in OE. *seten* 'sat.' Another example may be taken from I-E. root **dhē* 'place, put.' The *ē*-grade is seen in Skt. *dhā-man-* 'seat'; Gk. τι-θη-μι 'I place'; Goth. *ga-dēps*, OE. *dæd* 'deed.' The *ō*-grade is found in Gk. θωμός 'heap'; Goth. *dōms*, OE. *dōm* 'judgment,' OE. *dōn* < Eng. *dō*. The I-E. *ā—ō—ə* series became *ō—ə* in Teutonic. Example I-E. **stā* 'stand.' The I-E. *ā*, Teut. *ō*-grade, appears in Gk. ἵστημι 'I stand'; Lat. *stāmen*; Goth. *stōls*, OE. *stōl* < Eng. 'stool.' The weak grade occurs in Lat. *statio*; OE. *stæð* 'shore.'

263. THE *a—ō* GRADATION. — The *a—ō* series may be illustrated from the I-E. root **bhag* 'allot, enjoy, eat.' The strong *a*-grade is represented by Skt. *bhágas* 'distributer, giver of blessings.' The second strong grade by Skt. *bhāgás* 'share, lot'; Gk. φηγός 'oak'; Lat. *fāgus* 'beech'; OE. *bōc* 'book.' The weak grade is represented by Skt. *bhaktam* 'portion, food'; Gk. φαγεῖν 'eat.' This series may also occur in combination with the semi-vowel *i*, the diphthong *ai* being formed. An example of this is the I-E. root **saį* 'bind.' The strong *ai*-grade accounts for Lat. *saeta* (**saita*) 'bristle'; OHG. *seito* 'cord'; OE. *sāl* 'rope.' The weak grade is found in OHG. *silo* 'strap'; Gk. ἱμάς 'thong.' Of the original *o*-series which has united with the *a*-series in Teutonic, the examples are rare. One may be given, I-E. root **bhodh* 'sting, prick, dig.' The strong *a* (I-E. *o*)-grade occurs in Lat. *fodio* 'I dig'; Gk. βόθρος 'ditch'; Goth. *badi*, OE. *będ* 'bed.'

264. These examples will give an idea of the great value of gradation in tracing the history of words, and the connections of various languages with each other. Gradation is thus a fundamental principle of etymology, so that it becomes necessary to trace not the consonant values only, but the vowels as well, before we can state with certainty that two words, or sets of words, are allied. It will be seen also that this fundamental knowledge of vowel and consonant relationships bars out forever, not only the fanciful etymologies of the past, but the possibility of establishing fanciful etymologies in the future. In other words etymologizing has become a science, with a body of established laws well nigh as unalterable in their legitimate field as the laws of the physical world.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONSONANTS.

265. It is customary to think of vowels and consonants as so essentially different that they have nothing in common. Yet this is by no means true, as may be illustrated in several ways. For instance the semi-vowels *w* and *y* may interchange with the vowels *u* and *i*. Other consonants may be vocalized; that is gradually lose consonantal quality until they become pure vowels. This has taken place in the *r*-sound in LdE. and in some parts of America, as shown by such pronunciations as *faa* for *far*, *faather* for both *father* and *farther*. Even when not becoming fully vocalized, certain consonants may perform the function of vowels in making syllables. Thus the second syllable of *table*, *timber*, *taken*, *fathom*, is really nothing more than *l*, *r*, *n*, or *m*, with vocalic quality, and not at all *el*, *er*, *en*, *om*, as we might think from the written form. We have already pointed out the consonantizing of the vowels *i*, *u*, § 241. There is, therefore, no absolute division between vowels and consonants, and we may therefore expect to find in the history of consonants some regular interchanges between the two classes of sounds.

266. Consonants like vowels are best described by their relations to the vocal organs producing them. We thus have four series, the labials, dentals, palatals, and gutturals.

By a more minute division minor distinctions based on position of the vocal organs might be made.[1] For the subdivisions we make, however, we shall take instead certain descriptive titles. Thus consonants may be sonorous, or non-sonorous, the terms referring to the different quality of the sound produced. Sonorous consonants include the well-known divisions semi-vowels, liquids, and nasals, the last alone based on a physiological distinction. Non-sonorous consonants are of two varieties, — stops, in which the sound cannot be continued but is sharply cut off; and spirants, called also fricatives or continuants, in which the sound may be prolonged indefinitely. Each of these classes has two varieties, voiced or sonant and voiceless or surd. In making each of these the vocal organs are in the same position but the vocal cords are vibrating in the voiced and not in the voiceless variety. The application of these names to the several consonant divisions will be clear from the tables in the following paragraphs.

267. In one important particular the history of the consonants in English differs from that of the vowels. The vowels present many changes in the course of their history, some of them so great that they have been represented at different times by different symbols. In the consonants, on the other hand, fewer changes are to be noticed. The majority of the symbols remain the same in all periods of English. There has been no consistent shifting of a considerable number of consonants as in High German. In fact the consonants, which form what we may call the skeleton of words, have remained much the

[1] Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*, § 64.

same as in Old English. This will be seen from a comparison of the following tables.

THE OLD ENGLISH CONSONANT SYSTEM.

	Sonorous.			Non-Sonorous.			
				Stops.		Spirants.	
	Semi-Vowels.	Liquids.	Nasals.	Voiceless.	Voiced.	Voiceless.	Voiced.
Labials, . . .	w		m	p	b	f	f=(v)
Dentals, . . .		r, l	n	t	d	ð, s	ð, s (?)
Palatals, . . .	g=(y)		n (k)	c′	g′	h′	g′
Gutturals, . .			n (g)	c	g	h	g

There was also in Old English the double consonant $x = ks$.

268. The present English consonant system arranged in the same scheme to show the simple consonant sounds is as follows: —

THE MODERN ENGLISH CONSONANT SYSTEM.

	Sonorous.			Non-Sonorous.			
				Stops.		Spirants.	
	Semi-Vowels.	Liquids.	Nasals.	Voiceless.	Voiced.	Voiceless.	Voiced.
Labials, . . .	w		m	p	b	f	v
Dentals, . . .		r, l	n	t	d	th, s	th, z
Palatals, . . .	y		n (k)	k′	g′	sh (ʃ)	zh (ʒ)
Gutturals, . .			n (g)	k	g	h	—

To these must be added the double consonants *ch* (*tʃ*) and *j* (*dʒ*) from OE. palatal *c*, and *cg*. It should also be said that the palatal spirants *sh* (*ʃ*) and *zh* (ʒ) did not spring from the corresponding OE. spirants *h'*, *g'*, since these have become vocalized in MnE., but from OE. *sc*, and late MnE. *z* + *i* in foreign words. The palatal *k'*, *g'* are usually not considered as different from guttural *k*, *g*. But before palatal vowels *k*, *g* are palatal, as may be seen by comparing the pronunciation of *cat*, *gan*, with *cot*, *gun*. The letter *x* is now used both for *ks* and *gz*. From these tables it will be clear that there need be no such tracing of individual sounds as in the case of vowels, since the majority of consonants are the same in Old and Modern English. Nevertheless there are some differences to be accounted for, as is evident from the new consonants *sh* (*ʃ*), *zh* (ʒ), and the double consonants *ch* (*tʃ*), *j* (*dʒ*).

General Consonantal Changes.

269. Shifting. — It was said that there has been no such shifting of consonants in English as has occurred in High German. Yet this statement is not strictly true, for, compared with Teutonic and West Germanic, there has been a partial shifting of a certain series of consonants. These are the spirants, *th*, *s*, which were originally voiceless in Teutonic, but are now both voiced and voiceless, as *th*—*th*, *s*—*z*. Shifting in the case of the spirants *g* and palatal *h* has gone further, since they have become fully vocalized in many cases.

270. It might be thought for some examples that the spirant *f* of the same series had shifted also. In OE. *f* had

the sound of *v* when between voiced sounds, as in *over* < OE. *ofer*, *give* < *giefan*, *evil* < *yfel*. But this *v* sound really represents an early Teutonic voiced spirant *b*, § 21, footnote 3, § 25, and it is therefore not due to a late shifting. The only shifting of an original *f* in the history of English has taken place in but one dialect, Southern English, where even initial *f* has became *v*. MnE. contains but three Teutonic words with initial *v*: *vane*, *vat*, *vixen*, (OE. *fana*, *fæt*, **fyxen* 'female fox'), and these are supposed to have been borrowed from the Southern dialect. With these exceptions, therefore, every word with initial *v* is of foreign origin.

271. The OE. *th* (ð, þ) and *s* may possibly have been both voiced and voiceless, the former when occurring between voiced sounds.[1] In any case the shift from voiceless to voiced in certain positions has taken place since Teutonic times. At present voiced *th* occurs in Teutonic words when medial in voiced company, as in *feather*, *fathom*; in the plurals of certain nouns, as *bath*, *cloth*, *mouth*; and in certain verbs, *smooth*, *soothe*, *bathe*. The shift in all these cases is due to the fact that *th* was originally medial in voiced company. In the plurals of some words with final *th* the consonant has again become voiceless, no doubt through the influence of the singular; examples are *truth*, *youth*. On the other hand, voiced *th* occurs in the adjectives *smooth*, *blithe*, and the old noun *hithe* 'harbor,' in all of which it was medial in ME.

272. Like *th*, *s* has been shifted to the voiced spirant *z* in English, the change perhaps beginning as early as OE.

[1] Sievers-Cook *Grammar of Old English*, § 199, 201.

times. The voiced *s*, or *z*, now occurs between vowels, as in *hazel* < *hæsel*, *weasel*, *chooser*, and except in contact with voiceless consonants when final in inflected forms. These may be plurals, as *hoes*, *odds*, *losses*, *boxes*, or verb forms, *goes*, *shades*, *shams*. In all these cases *s* was originally final in an unstressed syllable *-as*, *-es*, and the voicing is therefore due to lack of stress, as in the voicing of *s* under Verner's law, § 24. The voiced *s* also occurs in certain verbs as *use* and *abuse*, where the nouns corresponding have voiceless *s*. The voicing in these verbs is originally due to the *s* being medial between vowels in OE. and ME., while the retention of it to MnE. is probably owing to the inflected forms, as *closes*, *closed*, where the consonant is in voiced company. Except in Southern English this voicing never extended itself to initial *s*, so that every English word with initial *z* may be known as a borrowed word. In other respects the shift took place in borrowed words entering in Old or Middle English, as in words of Teutonic origin. Some examples of such words have already been cited, and others of French origin are *treason*, *misery*, *reason*.

273. Lack of stress has been shown to be a cause of shifting in the case of final *s*. A similar shifting has taken place in the sounds of the double consonant *x* (= *ks*). When final, when in contact with a voiceless consonant, or when immediately following the accent, *x* remains voiceless, as in *box*, *execute*, *exclaim*. Moreover, not only the primary, but also the secondary, accent preserves voiceless *x*, as in *ĕxhibition*, *ĕxhortàtion*. When medial, not in contact with a voiceless consonant, original voiceless *x* (= *ks*), if not imme-

diately following the primary or secondary accent, has become the voiced $x(=gz)$. Examples are, *exist, exhibit, exámine, exăminátion, exĕmplificátion.* In *excel, excellent,* the *x* has been preserved voiceless by the following *s,* written *c.* Exceptions to this rule are certain dictionary words seldom heard in speech, and words of late introduction. For the shifting of *sh* (*ʃ*) to *zh* (3), see § 277.

274. In a few words the shifting of *f, th, s,* has probably been due to lack of stress in the sentence. The double forms *off, of* < OE. *of,* owe their separation to this principle, the voiceless *f* being retained in the stressed *off,* while the shift to voiced *f* (*v*) has occurred in the unstressed *of.* This also accounts for the voiced *th* final in *with,* and for voiced initial *th* in a small group of pronominal words, *the, that, this, these, those, thus, then, than, there, they, them, though, their, thou, thy, thine,* sometimes *thither.* The same cause also accounts for final voiced *s* in *as, his, is, was, has,* original final *s* being usually kept voiceless, as in *loss, toss, express.* Shifting has not taken place, however, in the pronoun *us,* or the adverb *thus.* It will be seen that this shifting of voiceless to voiced consonants through lack of stress is similar to the change accounted for by Verner's law, and these may be considered MnE. illustrations of the principle there involved.

275. Since the spirants *th* and *s* have regularly become voiced under certain circumstances, it is natural to expect a similar result in the case of the OE. spirants *h́, ǵ,* and something like shifting has really taken place. The voiced spirant *ǵ* when initial in an accented syllable has regularly

become the semi-vowel *y* by a species of voicing, and *h̬*, *ǵ*, in other positions have become wholly vocalized. In many cases this vocalization took place in ME., as proved by the new diphthongs mentioned in § 231. But in some words OE. *h̬*, *ǵ*, did not become vocalized until the sixteenth century, or early MnE., a symbol for the original spirant being still retained to this day in such words as *high*, *though*, *light*, *right*. In a few words, however, the spirant represented by *gh* was replaced by the dental spirant *f* in early MnE. Examples are *laugh*, *cough*, *trough*, etc. By a similar substitution the guttural spirant *g*, occurring only before guttural vowels, became the guttural stop *g* as in *gold*, *goose*.

276. PALATALIZATION. — One other general change has taken place in certain consonants since OE. times. It was pointed out above that OE. palatal *c* has become the MnE. double consonant *ch* (*tʃ*), as in *chaff* < *ceaf*, *choose* < *cēosan*, *beech* < *bēce*. This change, commonly called palatalization, began in OE. and was fully completed by ME., when many OF. words with this sound united with those of Teutonic origin. A like palatalization took place in OE. palatal double *g*, written *cg*, in such words as *hedge* < *hecg*, *bridge* < *brycg*, *sledge* < *slecg*, and this is now *j* (*dʒ*), the voiced palatal corresponding to *ch*. As OE. *cg* could not occur in the initial position, there are no genuine Teutonic representatives of this sound at the beginning of words, except as original *ch* has become *j* (*dʒ*) by voicing. The *j* (*dʒ*) sound also belonged to Old French, and borrowed words from that language easily fell in with those in English. Examples of OF. words with this sound are, *just*, *judge*, *join*. In the

eighteenth century the palatals *ch*, *j* (*tʃ*, *dʒ*) were increased in number by the addition of new double consonants, developed medially from the combinations *t* + *y*, *d* + *y*, as in *nature*, *verdure*, through forms that may be written *natyure*, *verdyure*, the *y* springing from *i* of the original diphthong *iu*. This change had taken place much earlier in *orchard* < *ortgeard*. In this century there has been a tendency to restore the original sound and again say *natyure*, *verdyure*, etc. We now have *immediately* beside dialectal *immedʒately*.

277. Besides these two double consonants, two new sounds have resulted in MnE. from a similar palatalization. Even in late OE. the combination *sc* had probably become the simple palatal consonant *ʃ*, written *sh* as in *ship* < *scip*, *shaft* < *sceaft*, *wish* < *wȳscan*. This is proved by the fact that words borrowed from Norse or Old French with *sk*, *sc*, retained the double consonant, never shifting to *ʃ* as in genuine English words. But to the *sh* (*ʃ*) sounds arising in this way, there were added in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries similar consonant sounds springing from the combinations *s* (*i*) + *y* (*i*), as in *passion*, *ocean*, *nation*. In a very few words this sound is initial as in *sugar*, *sumach*, *sure*, *surety*, from forms that may be written *syugar*, etc. Toward the last of the seventeenth century the corresponding voiced palatal *zh* (*ʒ*) as in *azure* began to be recognized. This means, that at this time the voiced palatal had begun to develop out of the voiced *s* (*z*) + *y*, as *sh* (*ʃ*) had sprung from voiceless *s* + *y* (*i*). Examples of this sound in present English occur in *usual*, *leisure*, *pleasure*, *osier*.

Minor Changes.

278. In the preceding paragraphs we have traced the regular development of the OE. consonants to their MnE. equivalents. Besides these no changes can be said to apply with consistency to any considerable number of consonants. Nevertheless there are certain other changes that may occur in the consonants of any language with greater or less regularity, and these have some important exemplifications in English. They come under the general heads of vocalization, voicing, unvoicing, assimilation, metathesis, substitution, ecthlipsis, addition. Vocalization has especially to do with the relations of consonants to vowels, while the others have to do with consonants alone.

279. Vocalization. — By vocalization is meant that change through which a consonant loses its consonantal quality and becomes a vowel. Naturally this change would first affect those consonants that are most like vowels. For example, *w* has become vocalized in *swallow* < *swealwe*, in *two*, *who*, *ooze* < *wās*. So *y* in the OE. prefix *ge-* became vocalized in ME. appearing as *i* (*y*) in *idon*, *yclept*, and still preserved in *enough* < *genōh*, *handicraft* < *hand-ge-cræft*, *handiwork* < *hand-ge-weorc*. The liquids also become vocalized. This seems to account for the loss of *l* in such words as *talk*, *calm*, *half*. Much more common is the vocalization of *r* occurring regularly in LdE. and in some parts of America, except before a vowel where it remains consonantal. Examples are *faa* for *far*, *caad* for *card*, but *far-off*, *far-away*. Attention has already been called to the vocali-

zation of the spirants *h'*, *ǵ* in § 275. In addition to these the voiced *f* (*v*) has become vocalized since OE. times in *head* < *heafod*, *lord* < *hlāford* < **hlāf-weard* 'loaf-guard.' Even when consonants do not become fully vocalized they may become vocalic, that is, they may assume some of the powers of a vowel. This applies especially to the liquids *l*, *r*, and the nasals *m*, *n*, which may make syllables without the intervention of a vowel, as in *apple* (*apl̥*), *timber* (*timbr̥*), *fathom* (*fathm̥*), *even* (*evn̥*).

280. VOICING. — One of the commonest consonant changes is that by which a voiceless consonant is shifted to its corresponding voiced variety. This is due to the influence of vowels or voiced consonants in contact with the voiceless consonant. The change has already been illustrated in the shifting of *f*, *th*, *s*, in English, § 269. Besides these important voicings, other examples are not numerous, but some illustrations may be given of the change. The labial *p* has become the voiced labial *b* in *lobster* < *loppestre*, *pebble* < *papol*, *cob* in *cobweb* < *cop* 'a spider.' This also accounts for *dribble* compared with *drip*, perhaps for *knob* < **knopp*. The dental *t* has been seldom voiced, but the change is seen in *proud* < *prūt*, *pride* < *prȳte*, perhaps in *clod* beside *clot* < *clāte*. Examples of the voicing of *k* are *sugar*, *flagon* < French *sucre*, *flacon*. The double consonant *ch* (*ʧ*) has become voiced in *ajar* < *on cierr*, ME. *on char*, and in *knowledge* < ME. *knowleche*, and *spinage* (*spinach*) < early MnE. *spinache*. The last cases are clearly due to lack of stress as in many examples given under shifting.

281. UNVOICING. — The change called unvoicing, the reverse of voicing, is that by which a voiced consonant becomes the voiceless consonant of the same series. This usually takes place only when the sound in question is in contact with a voiceless consonant. The most numerous examples of unvoicing are in the case of the verbal ending *-ed*, where the *d* has come in contact with a final voiceless consonant by syncopation of *e*, § 242. But *d* has also become *t* when final in *wont* < *woned*, *tilt* < *teldan*, and when medial in *cuttle-fish* < *cudele*. Examples of the unvoicing of *b* are *gossip* < *godsib*, and *unkempt* < *unkembed*. Yet unvoicing is a much less common phenomenon than voicing, as may be inferred from the small number of examples.

282. ASSIMILATION. — Many changes occur in consonants by the assimilation of one to another. Assimilation in its broadest sense includes various degrees of change. In this sense the whole of the changes called shifting and voicing may be considered as varieties of assimilation, since the consonant in these cases becomes vocalized to accommodate itself to a vowel or a voiced consonant. But assimilation has two varieties distinct from shifting and voicing, and these alone are here considered. One is partial assimilation, by which a consonant of one series becomes one of a second series under the influence of another of that series, as a labial becomes a dental before a dental. The second is assimilation proper, or the complete change of one consonant to conform to the quality of another.

283. Partial assimilation is illustrated by the change of the labial nasal *m* to the dental nasal *n* before the dental *t*,

as in *ant* < *æm*(*e*)*te*, *Hants*, compared with *Hampshire*. The same change took place in Old French, as may be seen by comparing Fr. *count* with Latin *computare*, *daunt* with *domitare*, *aunt* with *amita*. The palatal nasal *n*(*k*) has also become the dental *n* before *t*, in *lent* < *lencten* 'spring.' On the other hand, the dental *n* has become the labial *m* before a labial consonant in *hemp* < *henep* with syncopation of *e*. Perhaps the change of *d* to *th* especially before *r*, *l*, *n*, may be regarded as partial assimilation, the stop *d* being replaced by the voiced spirant or continuant *th* before the sonorous, or continuant consonants cited above. Examples are *father*, *mother*, *weather*, *gather*, *together*, *hither*, *thither*, *whither*, *whether*, < *fæder*, *mōdor*, *weder*, etc. This may be due to other causes in some cases, as influence of Norse words. The reverse change is also seen in some words, § 286.

284. The examples of complete assimilation are not numerous, unless we include many cases of loss of consonants which may be due to assimilation or to vocalization. Other examples are *woman*, *women* < *wīfman* through **wimmen*, *leman* < *lēofman*, *Lammas* < *hlāfmæsse*, illustrating the assimilation of *f* to *m*. In *gossip* < *godsib*, *gospell* < *godspel*, *d* has been assimilated to *s*. Assimilation and final loss of *th* occurs in *worship* < **weorðscipe*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* < *Northfolk*, *Southfolk*. Perhaps the loss of *t* after *s*, *f*, in *castle*, *fasten*, *often*, is because of assimilation to the preceding consonant.

285. METATHESIS. — By metathesis is meant a change in position sometimes taking place in a consonant sound

within a word. This change has occurred especially with *r* and *s* as the examples will show. Metathesis of *r* has occurred in *bird* < *brid*, *fresh* < *fersc*, *through* < *ðurh*, *grass* < *gærs*. Examples of *s*-metathesis are *wasp* < *wæps*, *hasp* < *hæpse*, *aspen* < *æps*, *clasp* < ME. *clapsen*. Metathesis also occurred in English *ask*, OE. *ascian*, *acsian*, the last of which has given us the dialectal *ax* for *ask*.

286. SUBSTITUTION. — Occasionally one consonant has been substituted for another where the reason for the change is not so apparent. One difficulty in assigning a reason for this change lies in the fact that the substituted consonant sometimes belongs to the same series as the displaced sound, sometimes to a different series. Substitution of *l* for the second *r* has taken place in *marble* < ME. *marbre*, *purple* < *purpur*. Probably in these two cases the *l* took the place of *r* by dissimilation, to prevent the combination *rbr*, *rpr*. This would not explain *Moll* for *Mary*, and some other cases, nor would it account for the regular substitution of *l* for *r* by the Chinese when learning English, as in *Melican* for *American*, *tlee* for *tree*. Substitution of *t* for *k* has taken place in *mate* < *maca* (*gemaca*), *bat* < ME. *bakke*. The dental *d* has taken the place of *th* in *could* < *cūðe*, in *burden* < *byrðen*, *fiddle* < *fiðele*, *murder* < *morðer*, *rudder* < *rōðer*, *spider* < ME. *spīðer* (**spinðer*). One of the most interesting of these substitutions is that of *f* for an original spirant *h* as in *laugh*, *tough*, *cough*, *rough*. In English *knave* *f* has been substituted for *p* as shown by OE. *cnapa*, *cnafa*, and comparison with Ger. *knabe*. In some words from the Old French the Teutonic *th* has been

substituted for original *t*, as in *authority* < OF. *autorite*. Substitution is often the result of analogy. Thus *fifth*, *sixth*, *eleventh*, *twelfth*, have final *th* for original *t* by analogy of *fourth*, *seventh*, *eighth*.

287. ECTHLIPSIS, or the loss of a consonant. While the consonants are preserved in the majority of words, nearly every consonant shows loss in some exceptional cases. For example, the semi-vowel *w* occurred in OE. in the initial combinations *wl*, *wr*, the latter of which is still written but not pronounced in *write*, *wrought*, etc. *W* has also disappeared, especially before a *u* or *o* sound, as in *ooze* < *wās*, *wōs*; *tusk* < *twux*; *such* < ME. *swuch* < *swilc*; *answer* < *andswaru*; *sword* < *sweord*; *thong* < *thwong*; also in *two*, *who*, *so*. Sometimes two forms have sprung from the same word, one with *w*, and one by the loss of it, as *quid*, *cud* < *cwidu*, *cwudu*, *cudu*; or *couch*-grass and the dialectal *quitch*-grass < *cwice*, *cwuce*, *cuce*, allied to Eng. *quick*. French words showing similar double forms are *quoin*—*coin* 'corner,' and *quoit*—*coit*. The nasal *n* has been lost from the beginning of *adder* < *nædre*, *auger* < *nafe-gār*. This seems to be due to a wrong division of such a spoken group as '*a-nauger*,' by which it became '*an-auger*'; cf. § 392.

288. Many cases of ecthlipsis in the general sense are to be explained by assimilation. This, however, will not account for the loss of final *b* after *m* in *lamb*, *climb*, *comb*, *dumb*, *plumb*, in all of which the *b* is still written. The dentals also show losses sometimes. The loss of *t* in such words as *castle*, *fasten*, *thistle*, *Christmas*, has already

been noticed as possible assimilation. In *answer* < *and-swaru*, and *tine* 'of a fork' < *tind*, a *d* has been lost. The guttural *h* has been lost from the initial combinations *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, in which it occurred in OE., as in *loaf* < *hlāf*, *nut* < *hnutu*, *ring* < *hring*. One of the most peculiar phenomena of speech is the dropping of *h* when initial, and the addition of it where it does not belong in the Cockney dialect of England. This *h*, says Sweet, "began to be dropped everywhere in colloquial speech toward the end of the eighteenth century, but has now been restored in refined speech by the influence of the spelling." The explanation is of special interest as showing why the *h* is not dropped in American speech, our language being an inheritance of the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth centuries, a time before the dropping of *h* became common in England. The guttural *k* in the initial combination *kn* of *knave*, *knee*, *knife*, is still written, but not pronounced.

289. ADDITION. — Not only have consonants been lost in some cases but in others they have been added where they did not originally belong. For instance the semi-vowels *w*, *y*, have developed in a few words by the process called weakening, § 241. Addition, however, is here confined to the cases not coming under any of the processes already mentioned. The liquids are seldom excrescent. In *could*, *l* has been added to the written form by analogy of *would* and *should*, but it was probably never pronounced. On the other hand *r* is excrescent in *bridegroom* < *brȳdguma*, *corporal* < Fr. *caporal*, *cartridge* < Fr. *cartouche*, *hoarse* <

hās. The nasal *n* has been added to *nightingale* < ME. *nihtegale*. It has also been added initially in *newt* < *efete* ME. *ewt*, *nickname* < ME. *ekename*, and in the Shakespearean *nuncle*, *nawl*, for *uncle*, *awl*. This latter adding of *n*, called by the special name nunnation, is usually explained as due to the wrong division of such a group as '*an-ewt*,' which thus became '*a-newt*.'

290. Of the labial consonants, *p* is excrescent after the labial *m* followed by a voiceless consonant as in *empty* < *æmtig*, *glimpse* < ME. *glimsen*, *sempstress* < *sēamestre*. Similarly labial *b* has been added between *m* and a voiced sound, as *slumber* < *slumerian*, *bramble* < *bramel*, *embers* < ME. *emeres*. The *b* was added to *timber* in OE., and in ME. to *limb*, *thumb*, *crumb*, *numb*, when these words were dissyllabic as *crumbe*. *Crumble*, *thimble*, allied to *crumb*, *thumb*, show the same excrescent *b*. The dentals exhibit similar phenomena. After *s*, *t* is excrescent in *against*, *amidst*, *amongst*, *betwixt*, *whilst* < ME. *ageines*, etc. Other examples are *behest* < *behæs*, *earnest* 'a pledge' < ME. *ernes*. The dental *d* is excrescent especially after *n*, as in *sound* < OF. *soun*; *bound* 'prepared' < ME. *boun*; *round* 'to whisper' < *rūnian*; so also in *dwindle*, *gander*, *kindred*, *spindle*, *thunder*, where excrescent *d* has been added between *n* and a voiced sound. In *island* < *ēgland*, ME. *īland*, *s* has been added to the written form under the influence of Fr. *isle*. There is also a tendency to add *s* initially as in *squeeze* < *cwēsan* 'to crush.'

291. The weak initial *h* of words from French was strengthened in Middle and early Modern English, so that

only ***heir, honest, hour, honour*** and their compounds remain with invariable silent *h* in America. In England, and sometimes in America, a few other words have silent *h* initially, as ***humour, humid, human, hotel, hostler.***

292. For reasons already stated, § 267, it seems unnecessary to give a complete summary of the changes in consonants from Old to Modern English. We may perhaps call attention again to the more important changes in the qualities of certain consonants since Old English times. These may be represented as follows: —

OE.		MnE.	OE.		MnE.
c (palatal)	>	ch (tʃ)	s	>	z
cg	>	j (dʒ)	sc	>	sh(ʃ)

Of these the change $s > z$ may have taken place in Old English times, but it is difficult to prove this absolutely. Certain changes in quality have also taken place wholly in the modern period. These are particularly two, $s + y > sh$ (*ʃ*), and $z + y > zh$ (ʒ). There have thus been added to the consonant sounds existing in Old English *z*, *ʃ* (*sh*), ʒ (*zh*), and the double consonants *tʃ* (*ch*) and *dʒ* (*j*), while in addition some consonants existing in Old English have been wholly lost, §§ 267, 268.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ENGLISH ACCENT.

293. Many references in the preceding chapters to accent, or stress, indicate that it is an important factor in the history of words and deserves special treatment. The importance of accent was first fully recognized when it was discovered, that only by taking it into account could certain features of the great consonant shift be understood, § 24. But accent as a factor in explaining the changes which words undergo is by no means confined to the prehistoric periods of Teutonic and English. The vowels of stressed syllables must always be separated from those of unstressed syllables because of changes peculiar to each. Moreover we have already seen that in the changes affecting English consonants in historic times, accent plays a part quite akin to that noted in connection with the first consonant shift, § 274. All these, and many other points in connection with the subject, indicate the necessity of a more extended examination of the principle of accent, especially in English.

294. The term *accent* is usually confined to stress upon a particular word or syllable. Stress in the larger sense however is of two varieties, word-stress, and sentence-stress, each of which has important relations in the history of

speech. Word-stress, or accent in its usual sense, needs no further definition. By sentence-stress is meant an accent resting on one or more words of a spoken sentence, or more exactly still on one or more syllables of the breath-groups, § 212, into which speech naturally divides itself. The importance of recognizing sentence-stress, as well as word-stress, depends upon the fact that the unstressed words of a breath-group, like the unstressed syllables of a word, may undergo special changes. Accent may be of different kinds in respect to quality, as pitch or musical accent, and force or expiratory accent. Both of these may, and usually do, unite to some extent in a particular language, but one is always more prominent and characteristic. Musical accent belonged, for example, to classical Greek and to Sanskrit; expiratory accent is exemplified by classical Latin and Teutonic. Musical accent has its various grades represented by the acute, the grave, and the circumflex. Expiratory accent is also of two kinds called primary and secondary according to the degree of force employed. As to position accent is free, resting on any syllable and moving from one syllable to another in the inflectional forms of the same word; or fixed, resting always on the same syllable of the word. Free accent belonged to the Indo-European and was retained in Sanskrit, Greek, and in the earliest Teutonic. On the other hand the accent of Teutonic words, after the earliest period, was a fixed, expiratory stress as already described, § 32. Between the two stands the Latin accent, which must rest on one of two syllables in polysyllabic words, but may change from one to the other in inflection, as in *léo—leónis, fḗci—fecísti*. English sentence-stress is also an

expiratory, or force accent, but instead of being fixed and conventional as is English word-stress, it is free and logical, resting on the word or words to which we wish to call special attention in the thought. The simple sentence *can he go?* may represent three different ideas, as the sentence-stress is placed on each of the three different words. Only in poetry is sentence-stress somewhat conventionalized, as it has been adapted to syllabic verse forms adopted from the Romance nations.

295. The English word-accent in the oldest period did not differ materially from the accent of Teutonic, § 31, except perhaps that it tended to rest more commonly on the root syllable. In nouns and adjectives, however, the accent still rested on the prefix, and verbs derived from them kept this initial stress. Thus *answer*, the substantive, and the verb derived from it have always been accented on the prefix. The noun *ordeal*, the only English word with the prefix *or-* (German *ur-*), has also retained the accent on the prefix from the earliest times. But the prefix *mis-*, for example, although it bore the stress in Old English, no longer retains it even in nouns, as *misdeed*. Examples of native nouns with accent on the prefix are those compounded with *after, and, fore, fro, in, mid, off, on, out, over, under, up*, as in *aftermath, answer, forepart, froward, inland, midway, offspring, onslaught, outlay, overthrow, underling*. There are few verbs with these prefixes, but most of them accent the root, as *ingather, overthrow*.

296. Foreign words entering English have sometimes assumed the English accent, sometimes not. In general

words of common usage, especially those entering before Modern English times, have assumed the accent of native words; while many entering later, as well as words of learned origin, may retain the accent of the original language. To the first class belong especially early classical words, and those from Old French. To the second belong words of late Latin and French origin, besides those from less important sources. Borrowed words however did not at once assume English accent, as we see from the use of French words in Middle English poetry. In that period many French words still bore the accent on the last syllable, but the tendency toward the English accent is also apparent. For a time foreign words were accented almost indifferently, and the early poets took advantage of this to use the same word with different stress in different lines. Thus Chaucer has, in the Monk's Tale (B. 3408) the following line with the word *reason* accented on the last syllable,

"Til that he knew, by grace and by *resoún*";

but in the Clerk's Prologue (E. 25) the word occurs with the accent on the first syllable,

"As fer as *reson* axeth, hardily."

297. Foreign words that have assumed the English accent have in general ranged themselves in the two characteristic classes of native words, nouns and adjectives usually assuming accent on the prefix, verbs taking it more commonly on the root syllable. But on the other hand, there is naturally less perception of the difference between prefix and root in foreign words, since the prefix is seldom or never

used separately, so that verbs as well as nouns have sometimes taken initial stress. When, however, in different parts of speech there is any difference in the accent, the substantive and adjective have an accented, the verb an unaccented prefix. Examples of nouns and verbs showing different stress are, *aúgment—augmént; cóllect—collĕct; cómpound—compoúnd; cóncert—concért; cónduct—condúct; éxport—expórt; ímpress—impréss; ínsult—insúlt; pérmit—permit.* Examples of adjectives and verbs differently accented are *ábsent—absént; fréquent—frequént.* On the other hand adjectives sometimes agree with verbs in not taking initial stress, rather than with substantives, as *Aúgust—augúst; mínute—minúte; súpine—supíne; ínvalid* (English *invalíd*) *—inválid;* but many of these anomalies are due to the fact that the words are late introductions. It has been already pointed out that there is no perception in the folk-mind of the difference between prefix and root in foreign words. Words, therefore, which are not strictly compounded of prefix and root often follow the analogy of strict compounds. Examples are *férment—ferménť; tórment—torménť.*

298. There are many examples in English of late foreign words that have retained the foreign accent. This may be shown by many of the French words that appear first in the seventeenth century, § 178, as *bagatélle, brunétte, burlésque, cadét, cajóle, campaign, caprice.* These, it will be noticed, are mostly nouns and by analogy of English accentuation should have assumed initial stress. Examples of Latin words which retain Latin accentuation are *auróra, cæsúra, colóssus, coróna, decórum,*

factótum, farina, legúmen. Such words are mainly of learned origin.

299. We have so far considered the accent of compounds that may be separated into prefix and root. Compounds made up of two words, as two nouns, or an adjective and a noun, take the accent on the first part since that is the more distinctive in English. Examples are, *dáy-light, ínk-horn, grând-father, rèd-breast, drâw-bridge,* for substantives; *hèad-strong, lóve-sick, rèd-hot,* for adjectives; and for verbs, *ship-wreck, blînd-fold.* On the other hand, words compounded of participles and preceding adverbs are variously accented, as *ill-gotten, ill-bred, ill-natured, hard-hearted, short-sighted.* When used attributively, such words take initial stress by analogy of adjectives. When used predicatively, they follow the analogy of verbs in taking stress on the second element. The accent in all of these cases can be explained as the preservation of the original sentence-stress, the stress which they had before the words standing side by side came to be regarded as compounds. The original sentence-stress is also preserved in those cases in which a particle and a noun have grown into a true compound. Examples are *a-wáy* < *on way, be-síde, a-mid, to-dáy.*

300. Secondary stress in English words is usually removed to the second syllable from the primary accent, except in the case of compounds of two words, in which the secondary accent falls on the second part whether it stands next to the primary accent or not. Examples are *dáy-lîght, lóve-sîck, hándiwôrk.* When the two words grow together, until the folk-mind no longer takes cognizance of the compound, the

secondary accent is lost. The result of this loss is that the second element of the compound is greatly obscured.

301. The effect of the strong expiratory accent in English has been to lessen the stability of the unaccented parts of the word, whether following or preceding. All changes affecting the unstressed syllables of words are thus hastened, as vowel weakening, syncope, apocope, apheresis, § 240. Parallel to the vowel changes in unaccented syllables due to lack of stress, are certain consonant changes as shifting, vocalization, voicing, ecthlipsis, although all of these may occur in stressed syllables. These also have been discussed in §§ 269, 278. Through loss of secondary accent the second part of many compounds has been so changed as to be unrecognizable as a separate word, § 144.

302. Sentence-stress in English has already been called free and logical as to position, expiratory as to quality, in the latter respect not differing from word-stress. The logical character of English sentence-stress is shown by the fact, that words expressing new ideas are emphatic, while those expressing ideas already in the mind, or easily taken for granted, are unemphatic. Thus the qualifying adjective or the modifying adverb receives the stress, instead of the noun or verb modified. As certain ideas are usually implied, certain words are nearly always without stress in the sentence. These are all particles, most of the pronominal words including articles, and auxiliary verbs. The result of this is that certain words have undergone noticeable changes, owing to lack of stress in the sentence. Moreover, all words have somewhat different phonetic forms when emphatic or

unemphatic in the sentence, although we do not commonly recognize these, since we think of words mainly in their written or printed form. It is only when these double phonetic forms become clearly separated and have different spellings perhaps, that they are commonly thought of as different words.

303. We have already called attention to doublets arising through difference of sentence-stress, as *off—of, too—to, than —then*, § 129. Many other words really have double forms sometimes used in illustrating colloquial English, but usually not mentioned in dictionaries. Examples are the contract forms of many words used colloquially, as *would—'d* (*I'd*), *had—'d, not—n't* (*don't*), *will—'ll* (*I'll*), *have—'ve* (*you've*) and many others. In London English the word *saint* when unstressed in the sentence becomes *snt* before vowels, *sn* before consonants, no vowel being pronounced in either case. Certain colloquial and frequently recurring groups of words are often considerably shortened. The very formal *How do you do* ordinarily becomes *haud i dú*, dialectally *hdudi*. Such a question as *What did you say* becomes in rapid speech *hwudʒəsé*, a group of three syllables. Vowels and consonants also suffer changes when unstressed in the sentence similar to those in unaccented syllables. Vowels thus become weakened, and sometimes, as in the contract forms noted above, wholly lost. Voiceless consonants also sometimes become voiced under similar circumstances. Compare the examples in § 274.

304. All these, and many other examples that might be cited, show the importance of the consideration of stress,

both in its relation to the syllables of a word and to the words of a sentence. It remains to define more exactly the relation of accent to phonetic changes. It is often said that certain sound changes are the effects of accent. This is not strictly true, at least for the expiratory stress of English. We know of no phonetic changes directly due to the force with which a sound is uttered. On the other hand stress, or accent, is an important condition which must usually be taken into account in tracing sound changes. It therefore enters into the statement of phonetic laws rather as a condition under which they take effect, than as itself a modifying influence.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANALOGY IN ENGLISH.

305. It has been shown in § 199 that sound changes as such depend principally upon an unconscious physiological process, and that for this reason they are subject to definite laws of change. As words are made up of sounds it might seem that these laws of sound change should account for all variations in language. But it is also clear from many facts, that another agency must be put beside sound laws in accounting for the changes which words undergo. This agency is analogy, or the tendency of the mind to bring regularity out of irregularity, similarity out of dissimilarity in the forms of words. Some of the most familiar illustrations of this influence may be found in the language of children, in whom the analogical tendency is unrestrained by any idea of grammatical correctness. Thus the child, influenced by the large group of adjectives compared regularly, as *strong—stronger—strongest*, compares *good* in the same way, as *good—gooder—goodest*. So, under the influence of the great majority of nouns forming their plurals in *-s*, the child says *man—mans*, *goose—gooses*. In the same way the child uses *draw—drawed*, *give—gived*, making these irregular verbs conform to the larger number of regular verbs. We call all of these

incorrect forms, yet they are due to the same tendency which has affected the English of all periods, and to which is mainly due the change from a highly inflected language in Old English times to the analytic, or slightly inflected form of modern times.

306. Instead of the name analogy for this regularizing tendency of the human mind, the less accurate term false analogy has been often used. This name, however, is due to a mistaken conception of the phenomena to which it applies, and especially to a confusion of the tendency itself with certain results of the tendency. Thus the child's *gooder* is an incorrect form because good usage has never justified it; but the analogical tendency, to which such forms as *gooder* are due, has produced in the history of the speech a multitude of similar forms which have become fully established. The tendency, therefore, is not to be regarded as false in any sense, although the effects of it may not always receive the sanction of good usage. This will be clearer from a discussion of analogy in its relation to our English speech.

307. Analogy as a force in the development of language depends upon the fact, that the mind takes cognizance of the word in a different way from what it does of the individual sounds. The word does not enter into consciousness at all in ordinary language processes, but it still exists as a separate entity, the sign of a particular idea. It may also, as a unit of thought, enter into various syntactical relations. Owing to this, words may have thought relations quite impossible to individual sounds.

The mind unconsciously forms certain groups, according as words have similarity in form or use. For instance, the inflected forms *boy—boy's—boys, man—man's—men—men's* are examples of inflected groups, the individuals of which are associated together because of like stems at the basis of the groups. In a similar manner all the forms of a single verb, or of an inflected adjective as in Latin or German, would form similar inflected groups. Other groups are also formed, as of all words inflected like *boy—boys*, and all like *man—men*. So all weak or regular verbs, because of similar inflection, form a class by themselves, and all strong, or irregular verbs another class. The verb also, with its more numerous forms, may present such minor groups as the forms of the present tense, *love—loves*, beside the forms of the past tense, as *loved, swore*.

308. The preceding examples are all of groups depending on similarity of form. But words are also associated together as they perform similar functions in the expression of thought. For example, all nouns, all verbs, all adjectives as expressing objects, actions, and qualities, form separate groups. All nominatives, especially when they have different forms as in English pronouns, may form a group separate from all accusatives or objectives; or all plurals in *s* may be classed together. So all past tenses of regular verbs, as distinct from all present tenses, form a group by themselves. In all these cases it will be seen the grouping depends on likeness of function or use.

309. Naturally the idea we form of regularity in a certain class of words is associated with the largest group, the

smaller groups being regarded as irregular. Thus we now think of the weak verbs in English as regular, although they are all derivative verbs and hence of later formation than the strong verb. Moreover, as regularity is always associated in the mind with the larger groups, the desire for regularity, or the analogical tendency, is constantly influencing words of the smaller groups, and if not restrained would eventually make them all conform to one type. For example, the regular verbs as we call them in English, have won over a considerable number of the strong, or irregular verbs in the course of our language development. Yet it should be said that the idea of regularity depends not on numbers alone. A small group, because of the frequency with which its members are used, may attract to itself some words of a larger group. Thus while the weak verbs have usually influenced the strong, considerably diminishing the number of the latter, in one or two cases verbs which were weak, as *dig*, *wear*, have assumed strong forms as *dug*, *wore*.

310. Analogy has been a particularly powerful force in English. By it many words and classes of words have been variously modified in form, while many new words have been made under its influence. Indeed, this regularizing tendency may be said to characterize the whole Teutonic family, although it is by no means peculiar to one language or to one time. Among the Teutonic languages the analogical tendency has been stronger in the Low German, than in the High German dialects, and English shows, perhaps even more than the other Low German tongues, the strength of this important factor in language changes. In discussing

analogy in English we shall here consider its influence first in relation to individual words, next as to inflections and syntax.

Analogy affecting Prefixes and Suffixes.

311. One of the commonest illustrations of analogy in English is seen in the extension of a frequently used suffix to words of which it was not originally a part. Take for example the suffix *-ly*, the common adverbial ending in Modern English. The form from which this is derived was frequently used in Old English, but there were other adverbial endings almost equally common. Gradually, however, the latter lost their force and the more distinctive ending *-ly* took their place, until it has now almost supplanted every other adverbial form. A good example of a word even now in the process of change is the adverb *first*, which under the influence of *secondly*, *thirdly*, and others of the series, constantly tends to become *firstly*.

312. The extent to which the influence of a common suffix may be carried is seen from the fact that *-ly*, which properly belongs only to Teutonic words, has been added to words from the French, as *certainly*, *verily*, *modestly*, *honestly*. The suffix *-dom* is strictly a Teutonic form also, yet it has been added not only to words of Teutonic origin, but also to foreign words, as *dukedom*, *Christendom*. The same is true of *-ship*, which is applied with freedom to words from all sources, while the use of *-less*, *-ness*, *-y* has also been extended by analogy. Nor have Teutonic suffixes alone been influenced by the analogical tendency. Several French

suffixes have been added to roots of Teutonic origin, as for instance in the words *lovable, laughable.*

313. Not only may a suffix be extended in its use, but it may even replace another suffix. For instance, the ending *-ing* belonged originally to nouns only, but later it displaced the participial suffix *-ende* as in *fishing, loving.* One of the commonest English suffixes for adjectives is *-y* < OE. *-ig,* as in *holy* < *hālig.* This has replaced the French suffix *-if* in *tardy, jolly* < OF. *tardif, jolif,* while it has been added to *contrary* < OF. *contraire.* The same suffix has apparently replaced OE. *-iht* in *thorny* < *ðorniht.* It also seems to occur in *handiwork,* where however the *i*-syllable is really due to OE. *ge-* in *hand-geweorc.* In a similar way the Old French suffix *-age* has modified the original ending of the words *sausage, cabbage* < OF. *saucisse, cabus* (*cabuce*). So also the Old French suffix *-ard,* as in *mustard, bastard,* has modified the suffixes in *gizzard* < OF. *gezier, custard* < OF. *croustade, dotard* < OF. *doter.* Another example of a similar modification of a suffix is seen in *righteous* < OE. *rihtwīs* 'rightwise,' where the last part of the word has been influenced by the common suffix *-ous.*

314. It is clear from all illustrations of analogy so far given that the unaccented part of a word is peculiarly liable to this influence. This is shown also by the changes that have taken place in English prefixes. The English prefix *a-,* as in *arise, abide, affright* is original, but it has been added by analogy in many words as *arouse, accurse.* This same *a-* has also modified many unlike prefixes as shown by the following examples. English *a-* is derived

from OE. *of-* in *adown;* from OE. *on-* in *away* < *on weg, afoot* < *on fōte;* from OE. *and-* in *along* < *andlong;* from OE. *ge-* in *aware* < *ge-wǣr, afford* < *ge-forðian;* and from the OE. preposition *æt* in *ado* < *æt do; atone* < *æt one.* It has also influenced the OF. *en-* in *anoint* < OF. *en-oint.* The prefix *ad-* is a modification of *a-* in *adjudge* < OF. *ajuge,* perhaps also in *advance, adventure* < *avance, aventure,* the original forms. The French prefix *re-* has been added to English *new* making the hybrid *renew,* and French *de-* has been made a part of *defile,* the original English word being found in Shakespeare's "For Banquo's issue have I *filed* my mind." — *Macb.* III, i, 65.

Folk-Etymology.

315. One of the most interesting exemplifications of the analogical influence on individual words is that which is called folk-etymology. This name is applied to a popular transformation of a word not understood, so that it seems to have some relation to a well-known word or words. For example, *wormwood* has really no connection either with *worm* or *wood,* but has been made over from OE. *wermod,* that it may bear an analogy in form to well-known words, and thus convey to the popular mind a meaning the original did not possess. This form of the analogical influence has produced no inconsiderable changes in the vocabulary of the language, while it is still continually affecting words among the common people.

316. A common form of folk-etymology is that by which a new singular form has been made from a noun which,

though singular, was supposed to be plural because of a final *-s* that was regarded as a plural sign. For instance, the word *cherry* is from Old French *cerise, cherise.* The latter became ME. *chéris,* and then by mistaken association with plurals in *-s* the new singular was formed. The same is true of the plant name *pea,* the form *pease* being the true singular in the older speech. *Sherry,* a kind of wine named from the Spanish town *Xeres,* came into English in the form *sherris* which is the only form in Shakespeare, (cf. *2 Hen. IV,* IV, 3, iii). The new singular has therefore been formed since Shakespeare's time. These examples of borrowed words are paralleled by some from the native speech. For example, *riddle, burial,* are from OE. *rædels, birgels,* and they originally retained final *-s* in the singular. Later the present forms came into existence in speech, the earlier forms with *-s* being retained only in the plural. Besides we have many dialect words with analogical singulars, some of which belong to dialect literature, as *shay* < *chaise; Chinee* < *Chinese; Portuguee* < *Portuguese.* Words originally singular but ending in *-s* are sometimes associated with plurals without however forming new singulars. Such are *alms, eaves* which have had a final *-s* since Old English times, and *riches* from Old French *richesse.* In older English, as of the Bible, it was possible to speak of 'an *alms*,' but the syntax of these words now shows that they are all plural. No doubt the reason why singulars have not been formed is that each of these words is thought of as collective in sense.

317. Sometimes only part of a word is transformed by folk-etymology. An example is *bridegroom,* in which

OE. *guma* 'man,' has become *groom* by association with *groom* 'an attendant.' *Acorn* has been transformed by association with *corn*, for it should rather be *acern* < *æcern*. *Titmouse*, plural *titmice*, has been influenced by *mouse*, *mice*, the original ending *-māse* 'small bird' having lost its meaning to the folk-mind. Other examples of folk-etymology are *frontispiece* < OF. *fronti-spice*, which has nothing to do with *piece*; *causeway* < OF. *causie*, Fr. *chaussée*; *penthouse* < OF. *apentis*; *pickax* < OF. *pickois*; and many others might be given. In some cases both parts of the word have been transformed, although this is not so common as other forms of folk-etymology. A good example occurs in the dialect word *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*. The English sailors are said to have called the man-of-war *Bellerophon* the *bully-ruffian*. Shakespeare makes Mistress Quickly transform *homicide* into *honey-seed*. In fact many of the witticisms of Smollett's Winifred Jenkins, Sheridan's Mrs. Malaprop, Hood's Mrs. Ramsbotham, and Shillaber's Mrs. Partington are based on this common tendency in language.[1]

Inflectional Levelling by Analogy.

318. In the two sub-divisions preceding we have considered analogical changes due mainly to likeness of form with little regard to use. Only in the case of the adverbial suffix *-ly* can there be said to be special likeness of function. In the changes that are to be considered under inflection and syntax a new element, the likeness of function or use,

[1] See the *Dictionary of Folk-Etymology*, by A. S. Palmer.

is to be considered. Under this new factor words assume new forms, not so much through general likeness to other words of similar character, as because the special changes which they undergo range them with words, or groups of words, performing the same function in the sentence.

319. NOUN INFLECTIONS. — Analogy in English noun inflections has had two important effects; it has reduced the number of declensions, and the number of case forms. In Old English there were five declensions of nouns, not to speak of certain minor ones. But even in the Old English period one of these declensions, by attracting to itself words from the others, had become by far the strongest. The same tendency continued through the Middle English period, until Modern English has in the main but one declension for nouns. To illustrate the change by a specific example, the OE. word *bōc* 'book' had a plural *bēc*, which should now be **beek* just as the plural of *foot* is *feet*. But by the influence of the larger group of words with *s* plurals, the analogical form *books* came into use and the older form has disappeared. In other words, *book* by analogy has separated itself from the small group inflected like *foot—feet* and united with the larger group inflected like *hook—hooks*.

320. In a similar way analogy has been an important factor in diminishing the number of case forms in English. The Old English declension, which is at the basis of the prevailing one in Modern English, had three different case forms both for the singular and the plural. This makes six case forms in all for each noun. By reason of more

frequent use, however, some of these gained upon the others, until the six forms were reduced to two in spoken English as *boy—boys*, although from the last we make two other forms in writing by the use of the apostrophe, as *boy's*, *boys'*.

321. ADJECTIVE INFLECTION. — The same analogical influence has affected the original inflection of adjectives, as also comparison, which may be considered a sort of inflectional form. The twofold declension of adjectives has already been mentioned as a characteristic of Teutonic, § 33. The influence of analogy has gradually broken down this variety of forms in English, so that now the adjective has but one form for all genders, cases, and numbers. Exception must of course be made of a few adjectives which have acquired the inflection of nouns when used substantively as *others*, *betters*, *commons*. To a lesser extent analogy has influenced the comparison of adjectives. The adjective *strong* had in Old English the comparative and superlative *strenger*, *strengest*, by mutation of the positive. Several other adjectives had similar forms. But mutation in comparative and superlative forms was not common even in Old English, and the few examples of it have been brought into harmony with the common form of comparison without mutation. An exception might seem to occur in *elder*, *eldest* beside *older*, *oldest*, but in reality *elder*, *eldest* are not used to express comparison, but are employed only as adjectives.

322. VERBAL INFLECTION. — The changes that have been produced in verbs by analogy are even more numerous

than those in nouns and adjectives, no doubt because of the larger number of forms upon which the analogical influence could exert itself. Even in Old English, the weak verbs illustrated by *love—loved* were far more numerous than the strong verbs like *sing—sang—sung*. The result was that there has been a constant tendency to make the strong verbs correspond to the weak, many assuming weak forms. Verbs entering the language from foreign sources have also been attracted to this larger class, and have almost invariably become weak. Moreover the inflectional forms have been greatly reduced in number since Old English times, so that the weak, or regular verb now appears in but four forms *love—loves—loved—loving*, such forms as *lovest—lovedst* being obsolete in speech and prose. The strong verb has also suffered in another way. Originally it had in its preterit, or past tense, two forms with different root vowels due to gradation. These have been reduced to one form in Modern English, sometimes the original singular, sometimes the plural, so that the four principal parts of the Old English strong verb have become three in Modern English. This simplification was no doubt aided by the fact that the weak verb had but three forms. Other examples of analogy in verbal inflections might easily be given, but they belong more properly to the special discussion of the verb which is reserved for a later chapter.

Syntactical Analogy.

323. Analogy may also affect the syntax of a language. Established usage in speech shows certain combinations

of words, as subject + predicate, singular subject + singular verb, transitive verb + object, which form prevailing types.[1] By analogy of these, combinations which did not originally conform to them have been variously modified. Thus in English, the prepositional phrase *of* + accusative has displaced the old genitive in many cases. In a similar way the phrase *to* + accusative has replaced the older indirect object, the dative without a preposition. The Shakespearean "I'll be *friends* with thee" (*2 Hen. IV*, II, 4, 71) seems to have been influenced by such expressions as *we'll be friends*. So also "*These* kind of knaves" (*Lear*, II, 2, 107) has been influenced by the expression *these knaves* and similar uses of *these*. A good example of a syntactical combination even now establishing itself is the adverb between *to* and the infinitive, as *to rightly judge*. Historically this is inaccurate, but under the influence of the common emphatic type adverb + verb, the adverb is frequently placed after the sign of the infinitive, sometimes even by the best writers.

324. It is impossible in a short chapter to make any exhaustive treatment of analogy in English. But some idea has already been given of how powerful a force it is in the development of language. In connection with it the question naturally arises, "Under what circumstances is the analogical tendency most active?" It is clear that, if unrestrained, analogy would soon establish absolute uniformity in speech, obliterating all irregularities in forms and syntax. But the regularizing tendency on the other

[1] Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 15 ff.

hand is constantly coming into conflict with long established usage, so that analogical forms cannot immediately establish themselves and perhaps never succeed in doing so at all. In other words analogy is constantly kept in check by what we call good usage, or correct speech, a particularly strong factor in a critical age like the present. It follows, therefore, that analogy is more active in periods when usage is not so influential a factor as at present. Such periods have occurred in the past, especially in Middle English times when English was deposed from its position as the literary language of England. Hence the great number of analogical changes both in forms and syntax taking place in the Middle English period. Another period in which analogy was especially active is the Elizabethan, so that in Shakespeare and other writers of the time occur a multitude of analogical forms. Some of these will be cited hereafter in the chapters on inflections.

V.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH INFLECTIONS.

CHAPTER XVII.

INFLECTIONAL LEVELLING IN ENGLISH.

325. Our Modern English is called an analytic, or uninflected tongue. That is, present English does not rely on inflectional forms for expressing the various relations existing between nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, but either on a certain position in the sentence or on certain auxiliary words, as prepositions and auxiliary verbs. But the Indo-European family is characterized by words of the inflectional type and all members of the family partake of this characteristic. The apparent inconsistency is explained when we know that every language belonging to the Indo-European family was in its older stages highly inflected, and only in later times is the inflectional character more or less completely lost in some members of the group, as in English, Danish, French, and others. Moreover English has not wholly lost the inflectional type, although the losses are more numerous than in some other members of the Teutonic group. For we

still retain case forms in the pronoun and one well marked case, the genitive or possessive in nouns. In the verb also we still have some inflectional forms, while others are preserved in the older language of poetry.

326. To the question "In what way has English become an analytic tongue," it may be answered that there has been a gradual levelling of inflectional forms for centuries under the influence of phonetic changes affecting unstressed syllables, § 240, and of analogy, § 318. This process, too, is by no means peculiar to English. Other languages have undergone the same change, as for example the French, although present French spelling still retains numerous evidences of the older inflectional character. In the Teutonic branch, nearly all members of the Low German group have suffered similar losses, while Danish and Swedish are likewise analytic at the present time. Nor is the change in English one that has taken place in modern times, and due to causes peculiar to modern life. The change has been going on in all members of the Indo-European family from the earliest establishment of the inflectional system. This may be seen by comparing briefly the inflectional forms of primitive Indo-European with those of the derived languages.

1. The primitive Indo-European had eight cases for nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, each distinguished by a special ending. Sanskrit still retained these eight cases, the nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative, the names of which sufficiently indicate their use. But even in the classical

languages the levelling process had begun, Latin having six, Greek but five cases. This change came about by two or more cases losing their distinctive endings and so appearing in one form, although retaining the meaning and use of the original cases. Thus the genitive in Greek represents both the genitive and ablative of the primitive speech, while the dative combines the uses of the older dative, instrumental and locative. In Latin the instrumental and ablative of the primitive speech are merged in one, the ablative. The locative, on the other hand, has fallen in with the dative of the first and third declensions, and with the genitive of the second declension, while its function is performed many times by the ablative.

2. There were in primitive Indo-European three numbers, the singular, dual, and plural, each carried through noun, pronoun, adjective, and verb forms. These were preserved in Sanskrit and Greek but the dual does not occur in Latin.

3. The declensions of the primitive speech were numerous, the number being variously given by different scholars. Some idea of them may be gained, however, by observing that Whitney assigns to Sanskrit four vowel and one consonant declension, the last of which contains many varieties of stems. Greek and Latin reduced these declensions somewhat, but the consonant stems were still numerous and they may be divided into many classes.

4. The primitive Indo-European had a complicated and multiform verbal system. There were numerous classes of verbs, each having active, middle, and passive voices; subjunctive and optative moods; imperfect, aorist, and

future tenses, with the dual number distinct in all as mentioned above. Both Sanskrit and Greek preserved this complicated system in most of its details. But Latin had lost the aorist tense, and the middle voice except as it was preserved in deponent verbs. As in the case of nouns, Latin had no dual number in its verbal system.

327. The oldest historical form of Teutonic, the Gothic, shows some greater modifications of the Indo-European system than the classical languages. Yet Gothic possesses many forms not found in the other Teutonic languages. For example it retains the vocative singular in nouns as separate from the nominative, thus preserving the same number of cases as the Greek. Gothic also retains the dual number in pronoun and verb, although not in the noun. In Gothic, as generally in Teutonic, the consonant stems are mainly those in *-an* (weak nouns, § 344), with a few anomalous ones, showing in this a great simplification compared with the classical tongues. In its verbal system Gothic still keeps some forms of the passive voice, but it has reduced the tenses to two, a present and a past, having lost the imperfect, aorist, and future.

328. For the West Germanic tongues the simplification is still greater. The extent to which these changes have gone may be best illustrated for our purpose by the oldest form of our own speech. Old English has lost the separate form of the vocative singular in nouns, a form still found in Gothic. This reduces the number of cases to four for all nouns, the dative and instrumental having separate forms only in one or two anomalous nouns, in

adjectives, and in demonstrative and relative pronouns. As the nominative, vocative, and accusative are always alike in the plural and usually in the singular, the cases of most nouns are further reduced to three. Old English has no dual number except in personal pronouns, and the dual forms of these are seldom used. Even when used they occur with plural verb forms, so that except in meaning they have no dual significance. The tendency to level the complicated inflectional system of the Indo-European is also seen in the Old English noun declensions. Nominally there are, besides the weak or consonant stems, four declensions of nouns, classified according to stems as the *o*, *ā*, *i*, and *u* declensions.[1] Practically, however, these are reduced to two, there being the merest handful of *u* stems, and the majority of the *i* stems having taken the declension of the *o* and *ā* stems. Old English has also lost all passive forms except in the case of one verb.

329. The levelling tendency, so evident when we compare Old English with Gothic and Gothic with Indo-European, has been carried still further since Old English times. Particularly strong were the levelling tendencies during the Middle English period. Indeed this was the time when the older inflections were so thoroughly broken down that only a semblance of the original system remained. Still other, though less numerous changes occurred in the early modern period, leaving English of to-day with slight evidences of the inflectional type originally so important a feature. From this we may see that when English is called an uninflected tongue, we only mean it has carried

[1] See the Sievers-Cook *Grammar of Old English*, § 235 ff.

forward a process of inflectional levelling, common to all members of the Indo-European family, and especially characteristic of Teutonic. This process has gone so far in English that few remnants of a once complicated system are found in the modern speech. But since these changes have been going on from the earliest times, the impression that they have taken place since our English ancestors came to Britain is inaccurate and misleading.

330. Equally misleading is the impression, that the breaking down of inflectional forms has been directly due to the influence of foreign languages with which English has come in contact, especially Norman French, to which this levelling is often attributed. The loss of inflectional forms has occurred in other members of the Low German group where there has been slight influence from without, notably the Swedish, the Danish, and the Dutch. Moreover inflectional levelling had begun in Old English times. In late Old English it proceeded more rapidly, while in early Middle English the language was assuming its modern form, even in those localities least affected by foreign influences. The language of Orm in the twelfth century, which shows almost no French influence in vocabulary, is nearly as inflectionless as the language of Chaucer two centuries later, which shows many French words in use. Moreover it is improbable, if not impossible, that the gradual introduction of words from the French could have influenced inflectional forms to any considerable extent. This must be conclusive from what has already been said of the relations of English and French in the

Norman period. Besides in the study of a language it is not safe to admit direct influence from without, except when it is impossible to explain the facts by natural development from within.

331. We have already shown by a comparison of Indo-European and the derived languages that the levelling tendency is a natural one, common to all members of the group, and especially to Teutonic. Remembering this, we may easily discover the reason why the loss of inflections was greatly accelerated in the Middle English period. When Old English ceased to be a standard speech, that is an official and literary language, manuscripts of all kinds were written in the dialect most familiar to scribe or composer. This absence of a standard speech removed the check upon almost indiscriminate levelling. Levelling was accelerated also by the fact that it was going on not in one locality but in many, so that part of the inflections were obliterated in one, part in another place. When a standard speech was later set up, the inflectional forms left by this many-sided levelling were few in number, and very different from those of the earlier time. The effect of foreign tongues, especially French, was in preventing the establishment of a standard speech, rather than in directly breaking down the inflectional system of the native tongue. For it was only necessary to remove the check of standard usage to bring about all, or most of the changes taking place in the Middle English period. This will be clear from what has already been said in the chapter on Analogy.

332. In what has been said above the answer has virtually been given to the question, whether any of the English inflections have been borrowed from French or other foreign sources. For although borrowing of inflections has been asserted for English, the assertion has never been satisfactorily supported, and we may well fall back upon the principle already laid down that foreign influence is to be assumed only when nothing within the language will account for the fact in question. Moreover inflections are so unobtrusive a part of speech, so closely associated with syntactical relations of the language to which they belong, that borrowing of them as distinct from words with which they are associated is in the highest degree improbable. It is true that inflections may sometimes be borrowed along with words to which they belong, as final *s* of the last word in the expression *knights templars*. But in such cases it is far more natural to suppose that the expression was borrowed as a whole, rather than that the *-s* of the French adjective has been used as a borrowed inflection. It is far different when we assume, as in § 447, that *-s* of the verbal third singular has come rather from Northern English than from Midland. For in this case we must suppose that the same word, as *make*, was used for a time in the two forms *maketh*, *makes*, side by side, until finally the form with *-s* came to be preferred to the form with *-eth*. But in the case of the borrowing of an inflectional form we imply that the inflectional ending was not only borrowed along with words or expressions but that it was added to native words, becoming the predominant form. In this sense, as said above, there has been no

inflectional borrowing in English. Borrowing of inflectional endings must be separated from the adoption of formative suffixes, as French *-ess*, which have a more distinctive meaning of their own, and hence have often been attached to native words.

333. In considering the changes taking place in the inflections of our English speech, it must be remembered that they were brought about in the most gradual manner. As said before, there is no sharp dividing line between the language forms of different periods. Nevertheless it will be convenient to use the three divisions of our language history already mentioned and consider the inflections in relation to them. We may thus follow Sweet in calling Old English the period of full inflections, Middle English the period of levelled inflections, and Modern English the period of lost inflections. The Middle English period is thus particularly important, and we shall consider more in detail the changes belonging in the main to this time. Still it must be borne in mind that inflectional levelling began in Old English and that it continued into the modern period.

General Inflectional Changes from Old to Modern English.

334. The inflectional levelling incident to English in the course of its history, is often represented as wholly haphazard and incapable of systematic treatment. But this proceeds from a mistaken view of language and a misconception of the alterations it may undergo. In reality few

changes in language are of the haphazard sort, and we may therefore expect to find, in the inflectional levelling of English, certain changes common to all forms and capable of careful and systematic statement. These changes cannot be set down with chronological exactness, partly because there was no standard language in which alterations may be traced with ease, partly because changes were going on in some dialects more rapidly than in others. But we may still attempt to place in approximate order of time the inflectional changes which apply with regularity to more than one class of words, leaving all points of less general application to be taken up in the special chapters on nouns, adjectives, verbs, and other inflectional forms. As in other parts of the history of English we are dealing especially with the dialect from which literary English has sprung, that called Mercian in Old English and Midland in Middle English.

335. One of the earliest general changes in inflections was the weakening of final *m* to *n* in the dative plural of nouns, and the dative singular and plural of the strong adjective. This change was completed before the close of the Old English period, since even in late West Saxon the ending *-um* of the cases cited above had become *-un* (*on, an*).[1] It is possible this weakening was brought about by analogy of the many inflectional forms in *-an*. Unaffected by the weakening here mentioned was the final *m*, not *um*, of pronoun forms, as for example *him*, *whom*, although *them* sometimes became *then*, as in the ME. expression *for then*

[1] Sievers-Cook *Grammar of Old English*, § 237, n. 6; 293, n. 2.

ones 'for the nonce,' § 392. One word, the archaic *whilom*, seems to have resisted the change, doubtless because as a common adverb it was no longer associated with declined forms.

336. Of more wide reaching importance was the vowel weakening that took place. By this, every unaccented *a*, *o*, or *u* became *e*, a change affecting the cases of nouns and adjectives, the infinitive and preterits of verbs, and other unaccented syllables with these vowels. For example the noun endings *a*, *u*, *as*, *an* became *e*, *es*, *en*. At the same time the *-un* (*on*, *an*) < OE. *-um* mentioned in the last paragraph now became *-en*, thus associating itself with other *-en* endings. Adjective endings were affected as those of nouns. The verbal endings altered by this vowel weakening were *-an* of the infinitive, *-að* of the present plural, and *-on*, *-odon*, *-od* of the preterit tense. In adverbs such endings as *-an* of OE. *hindan* 'behind,' *ēastan* 'eastern,' and others, also became *-en*. No less widely extended were the changes of final *a* and *u* in adjectives and verbs as well as in nouns. This important vowel weakening was completed in early Middle English.

337. Another important change concerns the Old English distinction of long and short stems. In Old English, stems containing a long vowel or a short vowel followed by two consonants were called long stems, and all others short stems. The distinction is important for Old English as it explains certain inflectional differences. But by the lengthening and shortening of vowels that took place in Middle English times, § 235, the original distinction of long and

short stems was obliterated. As a result, inflectional differences originally belonging to these two classes of words could not be kept up, and the two varieties of inflection became one. One of the principal effects of this change was in destroying the value of final *e* as an inflectional ending in the singular. When this was accomplished, long and short stems alike often assumed an inorganic final *e*, while short stems with *e* sometimes lost that letter. Such forms as OE. *wīf* 'wife,' *cōl* 'coal,' *hōl* 'hole' became ME. *wife*, *cole*, *hole*. It should be said, however, that the loss of distinction between original long and short stems was not the only factor in developing inorganic final *e*, although it was a significant influence in this direction. The addition of this inorganic final *e* not only obscured the old distinction of long and short stems both in nouns and adjectives, but it tended to obliterate the distinctive endings of the accusative and dative, so that these two case forms were more easily reduced to one.

338. A fourth change in Middle English times was the breaking down of the Old English grammatical gender. In Old English, as in the Indo-European languages generally, gender rested upon grammatical rather than on natural grounds. Thus OE. *wīf* 'wife' was neuter, as is German *Weib*, the cognate word, at the present time. So OE. *cild* 'child' was neuter, as is German *Kind* to-day. Familiar examples also are OE. *sunne* 'sun' which was feminine, and OE. *mōna* 'moon' which was masculine. With the loss of inflectional distinctions during Middle English, and mainly owing to that loss, the grammatical gender of Old English

was replaced by natural gender. The first words to give up the older distinction were such original neuters as *wife*, which assumed natural gender very early. Later, but as early as the thirteenth century, the whole system of grammatical gender broke down, and was replaced by the modern use. Such words as *sun* and *moon* of course have gender in personification, but the gender of these two words in personification is the reverse of what it was in Old English, probably through classical or Romance influence.

339. A fifth general change, coming later also in Middle English times, is the loss of final *n* in the inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and occasionally of uninflectional *n* endings in other words. This broke down entirely the weak declension of nouns and adjectives, and finally *n* was also lost in the infinitive and preterit plural of verbs. The change had largely taken place in nouns and adjectives before the time of Chaucer, who also sometimes omits final *n* in the infinitive while usually retaining it in the preterit plural. Before the end of Middle English times final *n* had been entirely lost in inflectional endings except in a very few nouns where it was retained as a plural sign. An example of the latter is *oxen*, which still retains it. Under the influence of words with an inflectional final *n*, some words in which the *n* was not inflectional also suffered loss. This accounts for such forms as *ope* for *open*, *mistletoe* < OE. *misteltān*, as also for *a*, *my*, *thy* beside *an*, *mine*, *thine*.

340. A sixth general change belonging to Middle English was the loss of final *e* in nearly all classes of words.

Not only was *e* a common ending in many inflectional forms in Old and Middle English, but it was also left at the end of many words by the change last mentioned, the loss of final *n*. Final *e* was pronounced in most words in Midland English to the close of the fourteenth century as shown by Chaucer's metre. Even in the poetry of the latter part of the fourteenth century, however, this final vowel was regularly elided before a word beginning with a vowel or *h*, though it was usually preserved before a consonant. But by the beginning of the Modern English period final *e* had been almost wholly lost,[1] although still preserved in the spelling of many words.

341. The last change to be noticed is the syncopation of *e* in certain endings, *-es* of the genitive singular, the plural of nouns, and the third singular present of verbs, *-ed* of the preterit and perfect participle, and *-en* of the perfect participle of certain strong verbs. The syncopation first took place in stems ending in a vowel or *r*, and in the second syllable from the accent. Examples of the first are *shoes, cried;* of the second *borne, sworn;* of the third *punished.* This change began in Middle English times as shown by Chaucer's verse, where occasional genitives or plurals in *-s* instead of *-es* occur, while there are also such forms as *born, borne, sworn* beside *boren, sworen.* In other cases *e* was not syncopated till late Middle or early Modern English. The poetry of Spenser and Shakespeare shows *-ed* pronounced as a separate syllable in many

[1] By this standard English is to be understood. Final *e* may have been preserved much later in dialects, since Urry in his edition of Chaucer (1721) remarks that it was still heard in some parts of England.

verbs and the genitive in *-es* in some nouns.[1] This must be regarded in so early a time as an indication of current pronunciation, rather than as poetic license. The syncopation of *e* here noticed has never extended itself to words ending in *s*, *z*, *ʃ*(*sh*), *tʃ*(*ch*), *dʒ* (*j* sound), the genitive singular and the plural making a separate syllable in such cases.

342. In addition to these general changes are many affecting particular classes of words. One of these, for example, is the change by which the *-es* of the nominative and accusative plural of nouns displaced the distinctive endings of the genitive and dative, so that at present all cases have the same ending in the plural. These special changes, however, belong rather to the discussion of particular classes of words, as nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

[1] Abbott's *Shakspearean Grammar*, § 489.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NOUN.

343. The declensions of the Old English noun are divided into two large classes, the strong or vowel declension, and the weak or consonant declension. The first has nominally four subdivisions, the *o*, *ā*, *i*, and *u* stems. But as pointed out in § 328, the *u* stems are few in number, and many of the *i* stems have taken the declension of the *o* stems. For practical purposes therefore, most Old English nouns belonged to the *o* declension, which included masculines and neuters, the *ā* declension including only feminines, and the declension of consonant stems including all genders. Besides these, there were a few anomalous nouns that must be considered separately. As stated before also, there were two numbers as in English to-day, and three or sometimes four case forms, the nominative, vocative, and accusative being alike for most nouns, as were also the dative and instrumental. There were, as indicated above, three genders, differing from those of Modern English, however, in being grammatical rather than natural in their dependence.

344. The noun inflections of Old English may be fairly represented by the following paradigms, the masculine *dōm* 'doom' and the neuters *word* 'word,' *clif* 'cliff' being *o*

stems, and the feminines *glōf* 'glove,' *lufu* 'love' being *ā* stems. The weak declension is represented by masculine *oxa* 'ox,' neuter *ēare* 'ear,' and feminine *heorte* 'heart.' Inflectional differences between *word* and *clif*, *glōf* and *lufu* are due to the fact that *word* and *glōf* are long stems, that is, they contain a long vowel or a short vowel followed by two consonants, while *clif* and *lufu* are short stems.

I. The Strong Declension.

	Masculine.		Neuter.		Feminine.	
			Singular.			
N.V.	dōm	word	clif	glōf	lufu	
G.	dōmes	wordes	clifes	glōfe	lufe	
D.I.	dōme	worde	clife	glōfe	lufe	
A.	dōm	word	clif	glōfe	lufe	
			Plural.			
N.V.A.	dōmas	word	clifu	glōfa (e)	lufa (e)	
G.	dōma	worda	clifa	glōfa (ena)	lufa (ena)	
D.I.	dōmum	wordum	clifum	glōfum	lufum	

II. The Weak Declension.

	Masculine.	Neuter.	Feminine.
		Singular.	
N.V.	oxa	ēare	heorte
G.	oxan	ēaran	heortan
D.I.	oxan	ēaran	heortan
A.	oxan	ēare	heortan
		Plural.	
N.V.A.	oxan	ēaran	heortan
G.	oxena	ēarena	heortena
D.I.	oxum	ēarum	heortum

345. By the general changes already outlined, § 334 ff., these inflectional forms were much reduced. First the dative-instrumental plural became *-un* (*on*, *an*), instead of *-um*. Next, unstressed *a*, *o*, *u* everywhere became *e*. This affected such forms as *lufu*, *clifu*, *glōfa*, *lufa* of the strong declension, and *oxa*, *oxena*, *ēarena*, *heortena* of the weak declension; besides all forms in *-an* together with the forms in *-un* (*on*, *an*) < *-um* became *-en* indiscriminately, and the nominative plural of the masculine *-as* had its ending reduced to *-es*, thus becoming like the genitive singular. All these changes tended not only to obliterate inflectional differences, but to obscure the distinction between long and short stems, and to break down the older grammatical gender. Moreover, while these phonetic changes were going on, analogy was also exerting a powerful influence in conforming all nouns more and more completely to one type, based on the Old English *o* declension. The most marked change was that by which neuters, feminines, and consonant stems took, in the plural, the *-es* ending of the masculine. Scarcely less considerable was that levelling, also due to analogy, by which the genitive and dative assumed the *-es* ending of the nominative, accusative, and vocative, so that all nouns became invariable in the plural.

346. The full extent of these changes may be seen by a comparison of the noun inflections in the *Ormulum*,[1] which fairly represents the Midland dialect at the end of the twelfth century, or about 1200. By this time all nouns had been reduced to two inflectional types, as follows: —

[1] Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Orrmulum.*

	I.	II.
Singular N.V.A.	dōm	lufe
G.	dōmes	lufes (lufe)
D.(I.)	dōm (dōme)	lufe
Plural (all cases).	dōmes	lufes

No account is here taken of gender, since nouns no longer retained the older grammatical gender at least in Midland English. The only difference between these two inflectional types is the final *e* in the nominative singular of the second. In other respects the majority of nouns are inflected alike, and the forms are not remarkably different from those in use to-day. The noun inflections in Chaucer, who represents in the main late Midland English, are much the same as those in the *Ormulum* written nearly two centuries before. The same types of inflection are found with similar endings. But in Chaucer besides the genitive singular and the plural in *-es*, forms in *-s* also appear occasionally in nouns of type I, usually in stems ending in a vowel, sometimes in stems ending in a consonant. Even when *-es* is written, the syncopation of *e* is sometimes shown by the metre. All these changes show the tendency toward the forms which have established themselves in Modern English.

347. The changes from the noun inflections of Chaucer to those of present English may be traced with little difficulty. In late Middle and early Modern English final *s* of the inflectional ending *-es* became voiced to *z*, except in monosyllables as *pence*, and *e* of the same ending was syncopated, except after *s*, *z*, *ʃ*(*sh*), *tʃ*(*ch*) *dʒ*(*j* sound), as in

piece, size, fish, church, age. Besides, final *e* of inflectional endings was everywhere dropped, so that declensions I and II of the Middle English period became one in Modern English. In other words the functions of the older nominative, vocative, accusative, dative, and instrumental are now discharged by one case form for nouns, while another case form corresponds to the older genitive. In the plural there is but one form for all cases as in Middle English, although by using the apostrophe we make a second written form for the genitive plural. As regards spoken forms, nouns in Modern English are of three types: those ending in a vowel or voiced consonant, except *z*, *dʒ*, as *boɸy, dog;* those ending in a voiceless consonant as *cat;* and those ending in *s*, *z*, *ʃ*(*sh*), *tʃ*(*ch*), *dʒ*(*j* sound) as *horse, adze, fish, church, judge.* The first type adds a *z* sound in inflected forms, the second *s* from older *z* by unvoicing in contact with a voiceless consonant, and the third *ez*(*iz*). The written forms of these various types are as follows: —

		I.	II.	III.
Singular	N.V.A.D.	boy	cat	horse
	G.	boy's	cat's	horse's
Plural	N.V.A.D.	boys	cats	horses
	G.	boys'	cats'	horses'

348. One manner of writing the genitive case in the older literature deserves a word of explanation. Occasionally in Old and Middle English the possessive pronoun was used instead of the genitive of the noun, as OE. *Enac his cynryn* 'Anac *his* children.' Perhaps under the influence of this use, the genitive singular *-es* was confused with the per-

sonal pronoun *his*, so that sometimes the latter was written for the former. This is found as early as Layamon's *Brut*, about 1200 or 1250. It became common in Elizabethan times, as shown for instance by *Sejanus his Fall*, the name Jonson gave to one of his plays, and it continued much later. Under the influence of the use of *his*, *her* came to be used by purists after feminine nouns. The absurdity of the latter for the older genitive is now evident, but the genitival ending has been seriously explained as from the personal pronoun forms.[1] The original confusion was due to the fact that *h* was but slightly breathed, and in rapid speech *his* had no more force than the syllabic *-es*.

Irregular Plurals.

349. So far we have traced, from Old to Modern English, the declension of the majority of nouns. There are still to be noticed some exceptions to the regularity of these forms, especially certain irregular plurals. It will be seen from the declension of *word*, § 344, that long neuters in Old English took no ending in the nominative and accusative plural. Certain other nouns, as *night*, *month*, *winter*, also had no ending in the same cases. The majority of these assumed the common *-es* plural in Middle English, but a few remained unchanged. In Chaucer there are of the latter sort *folk*, *dēr* 'deer,' *hors*, *nēt* 'neat' (cattle), *shēp* 'sheep,' *swīn* 'swine,' sometimes *thing*, *yēr* 'year,' *night*, *month*, *winter*, *pound*. Most of these have become regular in modern times, but remain unchanged in the plural in certain stereotyped expressions. *Sheep*, *deer* are plural as well as singular;

[1] See, for example, the *Spectator*, No. 135.

swine, folk are collective plurals. *Night* is really plural in *sennight, fortnight,* and *pound* in the English 'a ten pound note.' A plural of *month* without ending occurs in 'a twelve *month*.' By analogy of such words *fish,* an old masculine, is plural in certain expressions, as 'to catch *fish*,' while *fishes* is also used. Besides many nouns of measure, whether native or borrowed words, are sometimes used without plural ending after numerals. The word *ton* for example is used instead of its plural *tons* in such expressions as 'ten *ton* of coal.'

350. Another class of words with anomalous plurals are nouns ending in *f* and *th*, as *wife, bath.* In all such words the final *f, th* were voiced before a vocalic ending in Old and Middle English, but this has regularly remained only in the plurals of certain words, or occasionally in the genitive of compounds, as *calves-head.* Other words have assumed new plural forms without voiced *f* or *th* by analogy of the singulars. Words containing short *i, u* show no change of *f, th.* As words in final *f* and *th* show changes of these letters in the plurals, we should expect final *s* to be voiced also in similar circumstances. This is, however, true of but one word, *house—houses.* The change of *f, th,* here indicated originally belonged only to Teutonic words, but in one French word, *beef,* the voicing of *f* occurs in the plural as in native words.

351. The Old English weak declension has still one representative in Modern English, the word *ox* with its plural *oxen.* In Middle English *-en* plurals were more numerous, especially in the Southern dialect. In Midland

English they were also more common than to-day, Chaucer using such forms as *asshen* 'ashes,' *pesen* 'pease,' *hosen* 'hose,' *foon* 'foes,' *been* 'bees,' *toon* 'toes,' *eyen* 'eyes.' These, however, have wholly gone over to the common declension of substantives, except for dialectic forms which often occur.

352. All the examples of irregular plurals so far given belong to the Old English strong or weak declensions. There remain a few nouns of certain minor classes in Old English. The most important of these are the plurals with mutation, as *man—men, foot—feet.* The Old English declension of these words may be exemplified by the forms of the masculine *fōt* 'foot,' feminine words differing from this but slightly.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
N.V.A.	fōt	N.V.A.	fēt
G.	fōtes	G.	fōta
D.	fēt	D.I.	fōtum
I.	fōte, fēt		

Like *fōt* 'foot' were declined *tooth, man, woman,* and a few other words which have lost the mutated forms. It will be seen from the declension above that mutation was not characteristic of the plural, since it occurred also in the dative singular, and was not found in the genitive or dative plural. But by reason of analogy the mutated form of the nominative, vocative, and accusative came to be regarded as distinctively plural, and all other differences have been levelled out. Several Old English feminines also retain mutation plurals. These are *goose—geese, mouse—mice, louse—lice.* The archaic plural *kine* comes from Old

English *cȳ*, the mutated form of *cū* 'cow,' to which has been added the *-en*(*ne*) ending of such a word as *oxen*. *Kine* is therefore a double plural. Here is to be included also *breeches*, OE. *brēc*, ME. *brēche*, from an Old English singular *brōc*. This word is also a double plural with *s* in addition to mutation, although the singular is no longer used.

353. Some nouns of relationship had in Old English certain peculiarities of declension. Most of these have taken by analogy the forms of the common declension, although they retained certain peculiarities in Middle English times. *Brethren* still preserves the mutated form of *brother*, while it has also added to its original plural the *-en* ending of the old weak declension. It is therefore a double plural like *kine*, but it has been replaced, except in formal address or in poetry, by the new formation *brothers*. In Chaucer there are also the forms *daughtren*, *sustren* 'sisters,' the last of which is preserved in dialects to-day. Like the double plural *brethren* is *children*, which added *-en* after the plural *childru*, still kept in dialectal *childer*, had lost its plural significance. Sometimes two plurals for the same word exist side by side, but with slightly different use. Already *brethren—brothers*, *kine—cows* have been mentioned. The words *die*, *penny* have as plurals both *dice* and *dies*, *pence* and *pennies*, with somewhat different meaning.

Borrowed Words.

354. Loan words entering the language in Old, Middle, or early Modern English usually assumed the inflection of

native words. This was true for example in Chaucer's time with one exception. Foreign words ending in *s*, as *caas* 'case,' *paas* 'pace,' *vers* 'verse,' had no inflectional ending in the genitive singular or in the plural. Later most of these words were regularized, but a few still retain the older form in the genitive, as in certain biblical expressions, 'for *conscience*' sake,' 'for *Jesus*' sake.' It was only when learned words began to be borrowed in later times that foreign plurals were also adopted, as *formula—formulæ*, *radius—radii*. As to the latter the present tendency of the language, though not a strong one, is to rid itself of these foreign plurals, except where the foreign form has come to have a special meaning, as *indices* beside *indexes*.

Peculiarities of Some Written Forms.

355. Certain peculiarities of written forms deserve notice. For example we say nouns ending in *y* form their plurals in *-ies*, as *city—cities*. Historically, however, the plural is the older form, the singular having changed an original *-ie*, as in *die*, *lie*, to *y* in most cases. In some words the spelling has been influenced by analogy, as *negroes*, *potatoes*, by analogy of such words as *foes*, *woes*. The use of the apostrophe as a possessive sign is of comparatively recent date. In early Modern English it was used only to indicate omission of a letter or letters. It therefore belonged to the plural as well as to the genitive singular, but was finally restricted to the genitive. This was due, Sweet[1] thinks, to the erroneous belief that such an expression as 'the

[1] *New English Grammar*, I, § 1022.

prince's book' was a contraction of 'the *prince his* book.' The older genitive without the apostrophe is retained in the pronouns *his, its, hers, yours,* though not in the indefinite *one's.*

Gender in Modern English.

356. The loss of grammatical gender has been already noticed, § 338. The manner in which this came about through the loss of distinctive endings, will become evident from some examples. For instance, Old English had two words for 'brother's child,' *nefa* masculine, and *nefe* feminine. By the change of all unaccented *a*'s to *e*, both of these forms became *nefe* in Middle English, and the distinction of gender was necessarily lost. With the loss of grammatical gender, natural gender alone was regarded, or in other words gender belongs only to such nouns as denote sex. We still keep the term *neuter gender*, not in a grammatical sense, as in Latin or Old English, but for nouns having no relation to sex, or for some applied to either sex, as *child, fish.* That the latter words are strictly neuter, rather than common gender as it is called, is shown by the usual use of the neuter personal pronoun when referring to them. If there is any sex signification in their use the masculine or feminine pronoun is used. The term *common gender* is usually a misnomer, or at least the distinction is not an important one. When grammatical gender was lost, there was no means of expressing the distinction, except by different words or by different prefixes and suffixes. Different words to express gender naturally go in pairs, as *father—mother, brother—sister, son—daughter.* Some of these pairs,

as those just cited, belong to Old English. In other cases a foreign word has been joined to a native one, as French *countess*, the present feminine of *earl* (OE. eorl). So *bachelor* is French, *maid* and *spinster* English; *husband* is from the Norse, but is now masculine to English *wife*. In still other cases both words are borrowed, as *uncle—aunt* from the French, replacing Old English *ēam* (Ger. *Oheim*), and *mōdrige*, allied to *mother*. *Lad—lass* have been said to be Welsh but they may be Teutonic. Of much later introduction are such foreign pairs as *executor —executrix*, *sultan—sultana*, and others.

357. Among certain suffixes expressing gender, some considerable changes have taken place since Old English times. The most frequent feminine suffix of Modern English is *-ess*, of French origin. In Old English, however, another feminine suffix was common, *-estre*, now *-ster* as in *songster*. This feminine suffix corresponded to a masculine *-ere*, Eng. *-er*, implying the agent. There were thus in Old English many pairs of words with these distinctive endings, as *bæcere* 'baker,' *bæcestre* 'female baker'; *sangere* 'singer,' *sangestre* 'female singer.' But with the loss of grammatical gender the significance of these suffixes was also lost, so that *-ster* for instance came to be regarded as masculine or, perhaps more exactly, lost all sex significance though usually applied to men, as *tapster*, *huckster*, *gamester*, *teamster*, *youngster*. One word, *spinster*, is still applied only to women, but with no thought of its being originally the feminine of *spinner*. A number of proper names had their origin in words with this ending, as *Webster*, originally 'the

woman who weaves,' *Baxter* 'the woman who bakes.' Two words *songstress, seamstress* have become double feminines by the addition of the French *-ess*, probably after all feminine significance of *-ster* had been lost.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE ADJECTIVE.

358. The Old English adjective had two declensions, distinguishing a twofold use. These declensions are called the strong and the weak after names given by Grimm, the weak declension being a peculiarity of the Teutonic tongues, § 33. The inflectional endings of these declensions originally corresponded to those of strong and weak nouns, but the strong declension later took many of the pronoun forms, and the genitive plural of the weak declension was influenced in a similar way. By analogy, as in nouns, the strong inflection lost the separate forms of the *i* and *u* stems, all adjectives taking the forms of *o* and *ā* stems. As in nouns also, the *o* stems include masculines and neuters, the *ā* stems feminines only.

359. The declension of the Old English adjective may be represented by the forms of *gōd* 'good,' a long stem. The strong forms were as follows: —

	Masculine.	Neuter.	Feminine.
		Singular.	
N.V.	gōd	gōd	gōd
G.	gōdes	gōdes	gōdre
D.	gōdum	gōdum	gōdre
A.	gōdne	gōd	gōde
I.	gōde	gōde	

MASCULINE.		NEUTER.	FEMININE.
		Plural.	
N.V.A.	gōde	gōd	gōda
G.	gōdra	gōdra	gōdra
D.I.	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum

Short stems have final *u* or *o* in the feminine nominative singular, and the neuter nominative plural. Varieties of this declension also have final *e* or *u* in certain cases where such words as *gōd* have no ending, but for our purpose it is unnecessary to give paradigms of all these. The complete forms may be found in the Sievers-Cook *Grammar of Old English*, §§ 293, 298, 300. The weak declension of *gōd* was as follows: —

MASCULINE.		NEUTER.	FEMININE.
		Singular.	
N.V.	gōda	gōde	gōde
G.		gōdan	
D.I.		gōdan	
A.	gōdan	gōde	gōdan
		Plural.	
N.V.A.		gōdan	
G.		gōdra(ena)	
D.I.		gōdum	

360. The breaking down of inflectional forms affecting nouns was even more thorough-going in the case of adjectives. As early as Orm's time, about 1200, the adjective endings of both declensions and of all genders had been reduced to *e*. The inflection of the strong adjective in Orm's time was therefore as follows: —

		I.	II.
Singular	N.V.G.A.	gōd 'good'	grēne 'green'
	D.	gōde	grēne
Plural (all cases).		gōde	grēne

As the weak declension had also lost all endings but final *e*, adjectives ending in *e* were unchanged whether strong or weak. Adjectives like *gōd*, with no final *e* in the nominative singular, took *e* in all weak forms.

361. In Chaucer the adjective retains in the main the same forms as in Orm. The only changes to be noticed are that all forms of the singular had become the same, and that some adjectives had lost final *e* throughout the singular, so that they belonged to type I rather than to type II as formerly. Foreign adjectives, of which there are many in Chaucer, conformed in general to the declensions of native words, those with final *e* being declined like *grēne*, those without *e* like *gōd*. The declension of the adjective in Chaucer, both strong and weak forms, was as follows: —

	I.		II.
	Strong.	Weak.	Strong and Weak.
Singular,	gōd	gōde	grēne
Plural,	gōde	gōde	grēne

One adjective in Middle English still retained an older case form. This is a genitive plural of the word *all*, *aller* (*alder*) < OE. *ealra*. Chaucer used it in 'youre *aller* cost' = 'cost of you all,' and *alderbest* 'best of all.' This old genitive was also retained to Modern English times, Shakespeare

using *alderliefest* 'dearest of all.' Occasionally also in Chaucer, French adjectives take the French plural in *-s*, as *places delectables*, but this use is rare, although we still retain it in *knights templars*, and in the English *lords justices*, *lords lieutenants*. It has been sometimes said that the word *olden* in such expressions as 'the *olden* time,' retains the *-en* ending of the weak declension. But it is more probable that this is a later formation by analogy of such adjectives as *golden*, *brazen*, *flaxen*.

362. The changes in the adjective from Middle to Modern English are few and simple. With the dropping of final *e*, affecting all words in late Middle English, all forms of the adjective, both strong and weak, singular and plural became alike, so that the Modern English adjective has no change in form to express gender, number, or case. While this is true certain adjectives when used substantively have developed an *-s* plural after the analogy of substantives. In Chaucer *the gentils* is so used. Shakespeare used such forms more frequently than Chaucer, as shown by the examples *gentles*, *severals and generals*, *mechanicals*, *likes*, *elders*.[1] There are even some examples of adjectives taking the genitive *-s* in Shakespeare, as '*many's* looks,' sonnet 93, '*learned's* wing,' sonnet 78. The result of this tendency has been that certain plurals of adjectives have come to be regularly used as nouns. Examples of inflected adjectives in good use as substantives are *commons*, *elders*, *betters*, *sweets*, *vegetables*, *particulars*, *necessaries*. Besides certain pronominal adjectives also have inflected forms as shown in § 408.

[1] For many examples see Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*.

363. Two adjectives require special attention, the articles *a, an,* and *the,* but these will be considered in relation to the words from which they have sprung, the one being historically a numeral, § 370, the other a demonstrative, § 392. Under the head of the adjective rightly comes, however, the consideration of derivative forms that express degrees of adjectival force, or comparison as we usually call it.

Comparison.

364. The comparison of adjectives by means of derivative endings is an Indo-European phenomenon, being found in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, as well as in Teutonic. Gothic, the earliest representative of the Teutonic languages, has two sets of endings, *-iza, -ōza* for the comparative, and *-ist, -ōst* for the superlative. In Old English, however, but one set of endings is commonly found, that derived from *-ōza, -ōst* of the earlier Teutonic, although there are evidences of the *-iza, -ist* forms in some cases. The usual Old English endings are *-ra*[1] for the comparative, and *-ōst* more rarely *-est* for the superlative. Examples are *heard—heardra—heardost,* 'hard—harder—hardest.' The explanation of our modern forms is not difficult. By the general vowel changes in Middle English, § 336, *heardra—heardost* became *hardre —hardest.* The modern comparative ending has developed from *-re* by the loss of final *e,* vocalic *r* then being written *-er,* except in *more* < OE. *māra.* These changes had been practically completed by Chaucer's time, since he writes comparative and superlative endings as at present, except that occasionally the comparative in *-re* occurs.

[1] For *r* < *s* by rhotacism, cf. § 28.

365. That the Old English endings of comparison, *-ra* and *-ost*, are derived from the Teutonic endings *-ōza*, *-ōst* is clear from the absence of mutation, § 246, which would have been common if the endings *-iza*, *-ist* had been preserved. There are, however, occasional forms in Old English that show mutation in the comparative and superlative. Examples are *strong—strȩngra—strȩngest; long—lȩngra—lȩngest; eald* 'old'—*ieldra—ieldest.* These remained until Chaucer's time as *strong—strenger—strengest; old—elder—eldest.* But since Middle English times all except a few irregular adjectives have formed new comparatives and superlatives by analogy, so that we now say *strong—stronger—strongest, old—older—oldest.* Only *elder—eldest*, the earlier forms of *old* have been retained, and these are now used as descriptive adjectives rather than as comparative and superlative. Thus we sometimes say 'the *elder* brother,' but 'he is *older* than I.' Mutated forms also occur in two or three of the adjectives having irregular comparison. The forms *better—best*, used to complete the comparison of good, are from a root **bat* shown in the Gothic comparative *batiza*, superlative *batists*. In the same way our *less, least* come from mutation forms of a stem **las* meaning 'weak.'

366. In connection with nouns attention has been called to certain double plurals as *brethren, children.* Among adjectives we also have some double forms of comparison, as *foremost, hindmost, inmost, outmost.* These spring from original superlatives with an *m*-suffix seen in OE. *forma* 'first,' *hindema* 'hindmost.' Even in Old English some of these had taken a second superlative

ending *-est*, as *innemest* 'inmost.' Later the double superlative ending *-mest* was associated with *most*, and the latter finally displaced the former. We thus have such forms as *inmost*, *utmost* and *outmost*, *foremost*, and others. Of these *outmost* has had its first vowel changed by analogy of *out*, the older form *utmost* showing regular shortening, § 235, and *foremost* (OE. *fyrmest*) has changed its vowel by analogy of *fore*. Still more anomalous forms also occur. By analogy of such Middle English superlatives as *aftermost* were formed the new superlatives *uttermost*, *furthermost*, from the comparatives *utter*, *further*. After these double superlatives had established themselves, the double comparatives *furthermore*, *uttermore*, the latter now obsolete, were formed. On the basis of the old superlative *forma*, a later comparative *former* was made to correspond with *latter*.

367. Many of our irregular comparatives are interesting from an historical point of view. The new forms due to analogy in the case of *strong* and *old* have been already pointed out. Several other comparatives and superlatives are also analogical forms. *Late* has *later—latest*, beside the older *latter—last*, both of which have lost something of their comparative force. *Nearer—nearest* are examples of new forms based upon an older comparative *near*, the older comparison being *nigh—near—next*. In a similar way *worser* and *lesser* are based on true comparatives *worse*, *less*. *Far* has two sets of words used somewhat indiscriminately as comparative and superlative. These are *farther—farthest*, *further—furthest*, only one of which

is original, the comparative *further*. The superlative of *further* was *fyrst*, our *first*, which has become entirely separated from the series. Later the superlative *furthest* was formed, and by analogy the remaining forms with the vowel of *far*. *More—most* are from an original adverb *mā*, which became an adjective in Middle English and remained in early Modern English as *moe*. It may be mentioned also that *evil* was in Old English use the positive to *worse—worst*, but in Middle English both a new adjective *badde* 'bad,' and *ill* from the Norse, replaced *evil* in this use.

368. The comparison of adjectives by the adverbs *more* and *most* is not found in Old English. It occurs first in the early part of the thirteenth century, although it is not common till the time of Chaucer. Just how the comparison with *more* and *most* came into use is not easily determined, but it seems probable that it arose from an extension of the use of these common adverbs with participles and with adjectives not strictly allowing comparison. At first *more* and *most* were used indiscriminately with the other form of comparison, but later the differentiation in present use came into existence.

Numerals.

369. With adjectives, owing to their syntactical use in Modern English, may be classed a group of words to which we give a separate name, numerals. While this is a fairly accurate classification for Modern English, it did not equally apply to the earliest period of our language history, since *hundred* and *thousand* were neuter nouns governing

the genitive, and the numbers from *twenty* to *ninety* were also commonly so used. In the Middle English period, owing to the breaking down of inflectional endings, the present adjectival use of numerals established itself. It may be interesting to note that the oldest Teutonic system of numbering was a duodecimal, not a decimal system; that is, our Teutonic fathers counted by twelves instead of by tens. We have one relic of this older system in our change at the cardinal twelve to a set of numerals ending in *teen*, as *thirteen*, *fourteen*. In Old English there was still another indication of the older system, for the numerals between *seventy* and *one hundred twenty* were marked by the special prefix *hund*, a word we now preserve only in *hundred*.

370. The first cardinal numeral in Old English was *ān*. This should have given by regular sound development a form with long *ō*, *ōn*, and the first step in this change is represented by the ME. form *ǭn*. But in Modern English the form with long *ō* is not preserved except in the compounds *only*, *alone*, *atone*, and the indefinite negative *no*, originally *ne* + *ǭn*. The numeral proper was shortened and later developed in speech an excrescent *w*, as shown by the present pronunciation of *one*. Moreover in early Middle English an important offshoot of the numeral came into use, our indefinite article *an*, *a*. This came about by the gradual loss of the numerical idea of the word when used in an indefinite sense with nouns. The nearest approach to the old numerical sense is in such colloquialisms as '*a* day or two,' equivalent to 'one or two days.' The

Old English numeral thus appears in three distinct phonetic forms in Modern English: *ōn, ōne,* in *only, alone, atone; one, none;* and *an, a,* the article.

371. The process by which *an* lost its final *n,* becoming *a* before words beginning with a consonant, was a gradual one as in the pronoun forms *my, mine, thy, thine,* § 389. In Chaucer's time the numeral also appeared with two forms *ǭn, ǭ(ǫǫ),* the latter before a consonant. Two other words originally derived from the numeral show the same differentiation in form and sounds; these are *none, no,* < OE. *nān* (*ne* + *ān*). Connected with this Old English numeral is *nonce* in '*for the nonce,*' § 392. In Old English the numeral *ān* was used in the plural with the sense of 'only.' This use has been lost through the loss of inflectional forms, although the numeral *one* has the new genitive *one's* and the plural *ones.*

372. The second cardinal numeral was declined as a plural in Old English as follows: —

MASCULINE.	NEUTER.	FEMININE.
N. twēgen	tū, twā	twā
G.	twēg(e)a, twēgra	
D.I.	twǣm, twām	

The masculine *twēgen* has given us the adjective *twain* now rarely used, while it is also found in *twenty* < OE. *twēntig.* The same root occurs in *between, betwixt* in the last of which *t* is excrescent. Our word *two* comes from the neuter-feminine form *twā,* § 216. The Old English numeral *three* had the following forms in the plural: —

	MASCULINE.	NEUTER.	FEMININE.
N.	ðri, ðrie (ðrȳ)	ðrēo	ðrēo
G.		ðrēora	
D.I.		ðrim	

As in the case of *two*, our form *three* has sprung from the neuter-feminine *ðrēo*, ME. *thrē*. But the masculine is found in *thirteen*, *thirty*, *thrice*, the last preserving the length of the original vowel, while the first two have suffered shortening and metathesis of *r*.

373. The remaining cardinals require little attention. Modern English *five* with its final *v* is due not to OE. *fīf*, but to the form *fīfe* used when no noun was added. The numerals from *thirteen* to *nineteen* are compounded of the cardinals and OE. *tēne* 'ten.' The ending *-ty* of *twenty*, *thirty*, etc., comes from OE. *-tig*, Gothic *tigus* 'a ten.' *Hund*, as already mentioned, was originally prefixed to all the cardinals from *seventy* to *one hundred twenty*, but it now remains only in *hundred* which together with *hund* alone and *hund-tēontig* was used for 'hundred' in Old English. In the older language there was no provision for counting beyond a thousand, OE. *ðūsand*. *Million* was added in Middle English from the French, and later from the same source *billion*, *trillion*, *quadrillion*, etc., formed by analogy from the Latin prefixes *bi*, *tri*, etc., and the assumed root *-illion*.

374. The ordinals of present English differ in several particulars from the oldest forms, the most marked changes being due to analogy. For *first* both *forma* and *fyrest* were once used, the latter alone being preserved as the ordinal.

Instead of *second*, which is from the French, Old English used *ōðer* 'other.' The older numerical idea accounts for certain expressions in English as '*one* or the *other*,' '*one* and *another*,' although all idea of the numeral is now lost. The ordinals *third*, *fourth*, *eighth* are direct descendants of OE. *ðridda* (*ðirda*), *feowerða*, *eahteoða*, *eighth* being pronounced with a *t* and *th* although only the latter is written. But *fifth*, *sixth*, *twelfth* have changed an original *t* to *th* by analogy of other *th* forms, the Old English ordinals being *fifta*, *sixta*, *twelfta*. These older forms were preserved to Shakespeare's time, as shown by the titles *Henry the Fift*, *Henry the Sixt*, and *Twelfe-Night* in the first Folio, the latter with loss of *t* after *f*. Analogy has also influenced the forms *seventh*, *ninth*, *tenth*, *eleventh*, *thirteenth* to *nineteenth*, these originally having *th* but not *n* which rightly belongs to the cardinals only. Still later, or in early Modern English the ending *th* was extended to *hundred*, *thousand*, and the higher cardinals, these having in Old English no ordinal form. In other words we now form all ordinals except the first three by adding *th* to the cardinal, while originally they differed considerably from these forms.

375. The formation of multiplicatives is the same as in Old English times, the adjective suffix *fold* < OE. *feald* being added to the cardinals, although we no longer use *one-fold*. Some words with multiplicative idea have been introduced from the French as *double*, *treble* and later *triple*, while in *two-ply*, *three-ply* we have hybrid words made up of English and French. Our present English distributives, *two by two*, *three by three*, are scarcely a preservation from

Old English times since *and* was used instead of *by* in such expressions, and the numeral was in the dative-instrumental case, as *twǣm and twǣm* 'two by two.' The older form occurs in the Bible, as *two and two*, Gen. 7 : 9, in Shakespeare, as in *Henry IV*, III, 3, 104, and sometimes in present English.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRONOUNS.

376. The various classes of words we designate as pronouns present some interesting phases, because they show forms connected both with the earliest Indo-European and with present European tongues. Compared with nouns and adjectives, pronouns have suffered less disintegration of inflectional endings, since they alone preserve three distinct case forms, nouns preserving but two, and adjectives one only. The order in which the various classes of pronouns may be treated is largely a matter of convenience, rather than of logical or historical sequence. Here they will be considered in the order of personal, reflexive, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite.

The Personal Pronouns.

377. The pronouns of the first and second person, which may be separated from the third personal pronoun because they have no forms expressing gender, were declined in Old English as follows: —

First Person.		Second Person.
	Singular.	
N.	ic, īc	N.V. ðu, ðū
G.	mīn	ðīn
D.I.	me, mē	ðe, ðē
A.	mec, me, mē	ðec, ðe, ðē

Dual.

N.	wit, wit	N.V.	git, gīt
G.	uncer		incer
D.I.	unc		inc
A.	uncit, unc		incit, inc

Plural.

N.	we, wē	N.V.	ge, gē, gīe
G.	ūser, ūre		ēower
D.I.	ūs		ēow
A.	ūsic		ēowic, ēow

The long forms following short forms above, as *īc*, *mē*, *wē*, represent lengthenings in late Old English.

378. It will be seen that the changes from the oldest English forms of these pronouns are considerable. First all trace of a dual number has been lost, although Old English had dual forms in common with other Indo-European languages. But this relic of the primitive speech was not lost until the middle of the thirteenth century, after which time dual forms no longer appear. In Middle English also the genitive of the personal pronoun came to be used almost exclusively in a possessive sense, the older genitival idea having been lost except in a few phrases. In other words the genitives of the personal pronouns, and the possessive pronouns derived from them became one in use. Moreover, as these pronominal words were regularly inflected like adjectives in the Middle English period, it is clear they were rather possessive pronouns than genitives. They will therefore be discussed under possessive pronouns. But as the genitive of nouns is also mainly a possessive case,

we may still retain the genitive form in its place in the pronoun inflection, putting it in parenthesis to indicate its more restricted use. It will be seen from the Old English forms that even in this early time, the older accusatives were beginning to be supplanted by the datives, as shown by *me* beside the accusative *mec*, *ðe* beside *ðec*. Even in late Old English the change was fully completed, so that no relics of the separate accusatives now remain, *me*, *us*, *you*, *thee*, being both dative and accusative in use. In early Middle English, therefore, the first and second personal pronouns were inflected as follows: —

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
N.	īk, ī	wē	þū(þou)	yē
G.	(mīn)	(ūre)	(þīn)	(ȝūr)
D.A.	mē	ūs	þe	ȝūw, ȝū

The sign ȝ in ȝur, ȝuw, ȝu represents a consonant similar to *y*, if not exactly equivalent. The forms in Chaucer were essentially the same as those above, with the exception of Southern *ich* then common, but now preserved only as a dialectal form in the southwestern part of England.

379. In accounting for our Modern English forms of the pronouns as descendants of the Old and Middle English words, we must remember that the pronouns have usually little sentence stress, so that weak forms would naturally come to exist beside the strong forms. We thus have in Middle English ī beside īk, the former alone having survived in our pronoun I. This also accounts, no doubt, for short *u* in *us*, as well as for the forms *you*, *your* instead of forms with the

diphthong of *house*, as we should expect from the older words. The remaining forms in common use *mē*, *wē* still have short vowels when unemphatic. From what is said above we should expect *thou* with a vowel like that of *you*, but in this case it is probable *ye*, *you* supplanted the weak form of *thou* before the latter had established itself. This displacement of the old second singular by the plural requires special notice.

380. During the Middle English period, the plural *ye*, *you*, began to be used in ceremonious address in place of the singular. This was no doubt due to French, perhaps also to classical influence. The first instances of such use of the plural *ye*, *you*, occur in the thirteenth century, and by Chaucer's time it was evidently common as shown by the constant use of *ye*, *you*, beside *thou*, *thee*, in the *Tale of Melibœus*. During all this time the older singular remained among the common people, and was probably used to some extent among the upper classes, by superiors to inferiors, and in the older language of poetry. Later the plural became common among friends, and finally it was also used in addressing inferiors. The older singular is now retained only in liturgical language, and in poetry. How long the older singular remained in use among familiars it is difficult to ascertain. The first private letter known to exist in English, one from Lady Pelham to her husband in 1399, § 82, uses *ye*, *you* throughout. While it is ordinarily asserted that the distinctive use of *thou* and *you* is found in Shakespeare, and while there are occasional references to *thou* as a term of reproach and insult, as in *Twelfth Night*, III, 2, 48,

a careful investigation shows that there is no such consistent use of the terms. The older *thou* was often used in poetry, but its use had no doubt already become traditional. On the other hand the older singular is still used among the Friends, or Quakers, the retention and use of the form being here due to its being regarded as a religious obligation. One significant change has taken place, however, since in Quaker English the accusative *thee* is commonly used for the nominative, as *thee has*, perhaps by analogy of *he has* as the verb is always in the third person.

381. It will be seen by comparing the older inflection that *ye*, *you* had distinctive uses, *ye* being nominative and *you* accusative. The two forms remained thus distinguished in case through Middle and early Modern English. This is the use in Chaucer, and in the English Bible of 1611, the language of which, however, is based on the translations of earlier times; see for *ye*, *you*, John 14: 1, 2. In Shakespeare's time *you* had come to be used for *ye* in many cases, and sometimes *ye* for *you*. Later the original accusative *you* established itself both as nominative and accusative, *ye* becoming antiquated and being retained only in poetry. We have to-day, therefore, two paradigms for the second personal pronoun, the one in common use having *you*, (*your*), *you*, both in the singular and plural; the other having *thou*, (*thy*), *thee*, in the singular, *ye*, (*your*), *you*, in the plural, these being antiquated forms retained only in poetry and liturgical language. The older *ye* in the nominative accounts for some forms occurring in early literature and still colloquial or dialectal. Thus in its weak

form, *ye* not only suffered shortening of its vowel but sometimes lost initial *y*, a form still preserved in the colloquial *how do you do*, phonetically *hau d i dū*. The weak form is also preserved in the dialectal *harkee, lookee, thankee*.

382. We have already seen how the accusative *you* has displaced the original nominative *ye*. This has been due to analogy with nouns which have the same form for nominative and accusative. A similar tendency is shown in the first personal pronoun, the nominative being used for the accusative and *vice versa*. Such forms are not uncommon in Shakespeare, as seen in the examples,

> "My father hath no child but *I*," *As You Like It*, I, 2, 18;
> "Is she as tall as *me?*" *Antony*, III, 3, 14.

These forms also occur in dialectal English, and according to Sweet,[1] *me* for *I* in *it is me* is good colloquial English in Britain. The latter is also found in America and may be justified in opposition to the schools. The French *c'est moi*, which has long been the correct form, exhibits the same change. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the French form has influenced English, both being due to the same cause, analogy. Other dialectal forms belonging with those here noticed are exemplified by such expressions as *between you and I, me and John saw it.*

383. The third personal pronoun in Old English was declined as follows: —

[1] *A Primer of Spoken English*, p. 36.

	Masculine.	Neuter.	Feminine.
		Singular.	
N.	he, hē	hit	hēo, hīe, hī
G.	his	his	hiere, hire
D.I.	him	him	hiere, hire
A.	hi(e)ne	hit	hīe, hī, hēo
		Plural.	
N.A.		hīe, hēo, hī	
G.		hiera, hira	
D.I.		him, heom	

The changes are here more considerable than in the case of the other personal pronouns. In general nothing of the plural remains in standard English, while in the singular the feminine nominative and the neuter genitive, or possessive, have been replaced by other forms. Besides, the dative masculine and feminine have replaced the accusative as in the other pronouns, although the neuter accusative has been retained through likeness to the nominative.

384. With the displacement of the old accusative by the dative, the masculine singular forms remain as at present. In English dialects, however, an accusative *'un* corresponds to an old weak form of OE. *hine*. The neuter nominative and accusative *it* instead of *hit* is due to a weak form without *h*, which has always existed when the word was unstressed in the sentence. The original neuter genitive *his*, like the masculine, remained to early Modern English times.. The English Bible of 1611 used *his* for our neuter genitive *its*, or substituted *thereof*. Compare, for example, Gen. 1 : 12 : "And the earth brought forth grass and herb

yielding seed after *his* kind." Shakespeare used *its* only ten times, and Milton still less frequently, but the analogical form finally established itself. The feminine nominative singular of Modern English, *she*, is derived not from the third personal pronoun but from the feminine demonstrative *sēo*, which before 1150 began to replace the regular form. In Chaucer's time it had become fully established with the spelling *she* (*shee*), as now, the *s* having become palatalized to *sh*. The old form still remains in the English dialects, as in Lancashire *ho*,[1] pronounced like *he* of *her*. As in the case of the masculine forms, the dative *her* became accusative, leaving the declension as at present.

385. The plural forms of the third personal pronoun, it was said, have been entirely replaced. Owing to confusion of plural with singular in Middle English, the plural was replaced by plural forms of the demonstrative, and these rather Norse than Old English in origin. The Old English forms *ðā*, *ðāra*, could scarcely account for our *thēy*, *their*, while these would regularly develop from Norse *ðeir*, *ðeira*, the final *r* of the nominative being very early lost. *Them*, the dative-accusative of Modern English, might spring either from Old English *ðǣm*, or Norse *ðeim*, by shortening of the vowel. But the fact that there is still in dialectal English a demonstrative *them*, as in *them books*, would seem to indicate an English origin of this form of our third personal pronoun. Of these demonstrative forms, the nominative *they* first established itself, being found in Chaucer beside the genitive *here* and dative-

[1] See *David Grieve*, by Mrs. Humphry Ward.

accusative *him*. By the end of the fifteenth century *their*, *them* had displaced *her*, *hem*, except as the weak form of the latter is preserved in later writings with the spelling *'em*. The latter is also a dialectal form at the present day, although it is usually explained as an abbreviated form of *them*.

The Reflexive Pronouns.

386. Old English had no independent reflexive pronoun, as had Latin, but used instead the corresponding forms of the personal pronoun. This was still used in Middle and early Modern English, as in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, l. 526,

"Upon a night in sleep as he *him* layd;"

and in Shakespeare, *Pericles*, I, 4,

"My Dionyza, shall we rest *us* here?"

In present English the same use occasionally occurs, but in general the personal pronoun has been strengthened by the addition of the emphatic *self*, so that *myself*, *ourselves*, *himself*, etc., are the ordinary reflexives. These compound forms were originally made up of the dative-accusative of the personal pronouns and *self*, as in *himself*, *itself*, *herself*, *themselves*. But in Middle English *mēself*, *thēself*, through their weak forms with short vowels became our present *myself*, *thyself*, all idea of the original syntax having been lost. By analogy of these the plurals *ourself*, *yourself* were formed, and in early Modern English under the influence of nouns ending in *f*, these became *ourselves*, *yourselves*, *themselves*. In Shakespeare *ourself* is used with the royal

we, ourselves as the ordinary plural. In dialectal English *hisself, theirselves* are also used by analogy of *myself, ourselves.*

The Possessive Pronouns.

387. It has been pointed out, § 378, that the so-called possessive cases of our personal pronouns are not the old genitives, except in a few expressions, but are historically possessive pronouns derived from them. This would not be evident from present English usage, but the fact that the possessives from which our modern forms have sprung were regularly inflected like adjectives in Middle English proves conclusively that they were not the original genitives. Even *his, her*, the genitives of the third personal pronoun, were also inflected in Middle English by analogy of strict possessives, showing that they too had lost their genitival character. For these and other reasons, it is important that there should be a complete discussion of the possessive pronouns as such.

388. The possessive pronouns of Old English were formed from the genitives of the personal pronouns, with the exception that there was in addition a possessive *sīn*, from the stem of an old reflexive cognate with Latin *suus*. The latter might stand for any gender or number of the third person. These possessives were declined in Old English like strong adjectives, § 359. Even in Old English the possessive *sīn* was practically lost, its place being supplied by the genitives of the third personal pronoun, and these in Middle English followed the analogy of the other posses-



sives in becoming inflected. Attention has already been called to the displacement of the older plural possessive *hira* by *their*, § 385, and to the analogical form *its* for the neuter singular instead of older *his*, § 384.

389. In early Middle English the forms *mīn*, *thīn*, like the indefinite *an*, began to drop their final *n* before words beginning with a consonant, giving rise to the forms *my*, *thy*. The *n*-forms were always retained when the pronouns were used absolutely, as at present in the expression *the book is mine*. In Modern English *my* has supplanted the *n*-form in all cases except when used absolutely, but *mine* before vowels is found in early Modern English, as in Shakespeare and the Bible, and it may still be used in poetry. On the contrary, the *n*-forms extended themselves by analogy in Middle English giving such dialecticisms as *hisn*, *hern*, *theirn*, *yourn*. These are found in the Wyclif Bible (1384), but they have remained to Modern English only in dialects. In early Middle English, by analogy of *his* with final *s*, the possessives also began to take final *s* when used absolutely. This accounts for forms like *ours*, *yours*, *hers*, *theirs*. The last mentioned of these is as old as the time of Orm, the last of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, while Chaucer uses *heres*, the corresponding form in his dialect.

390. The possessive pronouns of Modern English are therefore *my*, *mine;* archaic *thy*, *thine; our*, *ours; your*, *yours; his; its; her*, *hers; their*, *theirs*. Of these the forms used absolutely are those in *-n*, *mine*, *thine*, and those in *-s*, *ours*, *yours*, *his*, *its*, *hers*, *theirs*.

The Demonstrative Pronouns.

391. The Old English demonstratives were *sē, sēo, ðæt,* and *ðēs, ðēos, ðis* the latter compounded of the simple demonstrative *ðē* and *sē*. These were declined as follows:—

	Masculine.	Neuter.	Feminine.
		Singular.	
N.	sē, se	ðæt	sēo
G.	ðæs	ðæs	ðǣre
D.	ðǣm	ðǣm	ðǣre
A.	ðone	ðæt	ðā
I.	ðȳ, ðon	ðȳ, ðon	
		Plural.	
N.A.		ðā	
G.		ðāra (ðǣre)	
D.I.		ðǣm	
		Singular.	
N.	ðēs	ðis	ðēos
G.	ðises	ðises	ðisse (ðisre)
D.	ðiosum, ðissum	ðiosum, ðissum	ðisse (ðisre)
A.	ðiosne, ðisne	ðis	ðās
I.	ðȳs, ðīs	ðȳs, ðīs	——
		Plural.	
N.A.		ðas	
G.		ðissa	
D.I.		ðiosum, ðissum	

392. The first of these demonstratives was commonly used as a definite article even in Old English. In Middle English *sē, sēo, ðæt* became *thē, thēo, that* and then *thē,*

that by analogy of the many pronominal forms with initial *th*. Later *that* alone retained special demonstrative sense, *the* being simply the definite article singular and plural. Some traces, however, of the earlier case forms still remain in stereotyped expressions. A trace of the old dative is found in the Chaucerian *for the nones*, Shakespeare's *for the nonce*, which should read *for then ones*, *then* being the OE. dative *ðǣm*. A trace of the neuter *that* in the earlier use as an article is seen in ME. *the ton*, *the tother* for *that on* 'that one,' *that other*. Both of these are still found in dialectal use. The Old English instrumental *ðȳ*, ME. *the*, has come down to us in *the more*, *the better* and similar expressions, where it is syntactically equivalent to 'by that more, by that better.' Finally the old dative plural probably occurs in the dialectal *them books*, *them things* to which attention was called in § 385.

393. As would be expected from the breaking down of grammatical gender in Middle English, *the* was used for all genders. Similarly the demonstrative *that* extended itself to all genders in the singular. Its plural was supplied by the older plural *thō*, OE. *ðā*, until by analogy of plurals in *-s*, or under the influence of the plural of the Old English compound demonstrative *ðās*, ME. *thōs*, the plural of *that* assumed the present form *those*. Of the compound demonstrative, few forms have been preserved in Modern English. Just as the neuter *that* came to be a demonstrative for all genders, so the neuter *this* of the compound demonstrative came to be the demonstrative of present English. The plural of *this* was at first *thōs*, OE. *ðās*, but two other forms

were also used in Middle English *thēs* and *thise*, the first of which has become the regular plural in Modern English. The form *thise*, later *this*, remained a plural of *this* in early Modern English, as proved by its not infrequent occurrence in Shakespeare. For example, it occurs in "which for *this* nineteen years we have let slip," *Measure for Measure*, I, 3, 21. A similar plural is still preserved in certain expressions as *this hundred years*, *this twelve month*, in the last of which *month* is the old neuter plural without ending, § 349.

394. One other Old English demonstrative is sometimes found in the older literature and dialectally. This is the word *yon*, OE. *geon*, as in *yon house*. While not common as a demonstrative in Old English, it is not infrequent in Middle and early Modern English. Compare Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, III, 2, 240, "Nerissa, cheer *yon* stranger." Besides *yon*, *yonder* is also used dialectally with demonstrative force at present, but whether it is derived from the Old English adverb, or from the genitive feminine of the demonstrative, OE. *geonre*, is uncertain.

395. The pronoun of identity in Old English was *ilca*, now preserved only in the Scotch and occasional English *ilk*. The pronoun corresponding to Latin *ipse* as an intensive, is *self*, OE. *seolf*. This followed its noun or pronoun in Old English and was inflected like an adjective, but later it came to be attached to the personal pronouns used in a reflexive sense, § 386. *Self* could precede a noun in Old English compounds, as in *self-will*, and this use has extended itself in Modern English; compare Shakespeare's

self-affairs, *self-charity*, *self-danger*, and our words *self-conceit*, *self-help*. *Self* could also be compounded with adjectives in Old English and we still have many words made up in this way, as *self-same*, *self-acting*, and others. In Shakespeare occur numerous examples of *self* as a noun, *death's second self*, sonnet 73, *Tarquin's self*, *Coriolanus*, II, 2, 98.

The Interrogative Pronouns.

396. The simple interrogative[1] in Old English had only two forms for gender, the one being masculine and feminine, the other neuter. It had also but one form for both numbers as follows: —

	Masculine — Feminine.	Neuter.
N.	hwā	hwæt
G.	hwæs	hwæs
D.	hwǣm, hwām	hwǣm, hwām
A.	hwone	hwæt
I.	—	hwȳ

Of these forms we now preserve three with personal reference, *who*, (*whose*), *whom*, the dative form having become the dative-accusative, and the genitive being restricted to possessive use as in the case of the personal pronouns. The confusion of *ye*, *you* in the Elizabethan age had its counterpart in the confusion of the nominative *who* and the accusative *whom*, so that *who* was frequently used for

[1] The interrogatives in Old English do not differ in form from the corresponding indefinite pronouns, § 406. In meaning also they are the same, since both are indefinite in reference, that is when used they have no expressed antecedent. The only distinguishing feature of the interrogatives is that they are used only in questions, but this is a distinction of sentence form rather than of the pronouns themselves.

the accusative as at present colloquially in the expression *who did you see?* Numerous examples occur in Shakespeare, as "*Who* does the wolf love?" *Coriolanus*, II, 1, 8; "For *who* love I so much?" *Macbeth*, II, 6, 30; "To *who?*" *Othello*, I, 2, 52. As in Old English, the interrogative *who* is always used substantively.

397. The Old English neuter *hwæt* is preserved in Modern English *what*, still neuter when used substantively. *What*, like *who*, was used only as a substantive in Old English, being followed by the genitive; thus *hwæt mǫnna* 'what of men,' was equivalent to 'what sort of men.' In Middle English the syntactical relation of this genitive was lost sight of, and *what* was regarded as an adjective pronoun of all genders, as at present in the expressions *what man*, *what house*. *Whose*, the genitive of Old English *hwā*, *hwæt*, has now been restricted to personal use, the genitival idea of *what* as an interrogative being expressed only by a phrase. Here may also be mentioned the Old English instrumental *why*, now our interrogative adverb, but originally a case form of the interrogative pronoun. It is also connected etymologically with the interrogative *how*, OE. *hū* (**hwū*).

398. Besides *who* and *what*, there were in Old English two other interrogatives, our modern *which*, OE. *hwelc*, *hwilc* < **hwā-līc* 'who-like,' and *whether*, OE. *hwæðer* 'which of two.' The pronoun *which* like *what* has become an adjective, while still retaining its original substantive use. In both cases it is invariable in form for gender, number, and case. The pronoun *whether* 'which of two' is not

now used, although there are many examples of it in our older literature; for example, "*Whether* of them twain did the will of his father?" Matthew 21 : 31. An adverb *whether*, of the same form as the pronoun in Old English, is still common.

The Relative Pronouns.

399. In Old English there was no simple relative pronoun,[1] as in Latin for example, but its place was supplied by the demonstrative *sē, sēo, ðæt*, § 391, by the relative particle *ðe*, or by a union of the two *sē ðe*, etc. Of these older pronouns we have left only the relative *that*, the neuter of the older demonstrative, which became the usual relative of Middle English. It is common in the *Ormulum*, and it is the ordinary relative in Chaucer, others occurring only occasionally. *That* remained the usual relative of early Modern English as shown for example by Spenser's use; and it has continued to the present in literature, while it is the only relative in constant colloquial use, conversation seldom employing *who, which*, except as interrogatives or indefinites.

400. The remaining relatives of Modern English *who, what, which*, spring from the Old English interrogative-

[1] The relative pronoun should be carefully separated both from the interrogative with which it has similar forms, and from the indefinite with which it is often confounded. We shall here consider as relatives only those that have expressed antecedents, those without expressed antecedents being interrogatives, if in interrogative sentences, or indefinites, in which case they will be considered under the indefinite pronouns where they properly belong.

indefinites[1] *hwā*, *hwelc* (*hwilc*). *Which*, invariable for gender, number, and case, began to be used relatively in early Middle English as shown by the writings of Layamon and Orm, and its use continued to increase until *which* had fully established itself as a relative for all genders. The older use in reference to persons is reflected in the well-known example from the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father *which* art in heaven." Later, as we shall see, *who* gradually displaced *which* in reference to persons, although it may still be regarded as having gender in reference to animals, while it is also regularly used for things.

401. The present established use of *who* began much later than that of *which*. It is true there are occasional examples of *who* as early as the twelfth century, and later in Chaucer, but it was not until the sixteenth century that *who* began to be used more commonly as a relative, and not until the seventeenth century did it fully establish itself. Ben Jonson in his *English Grammar* acknowledges only the relative *which*, although *who* was beginning to be used as shown by the plays of Shakespeare. But even in Addison's time, *who* had not become common, so that the great stylists recommended its more extensive use instead of the over-burdened *that*. In the *Spectator* of May 30, 1711, occurs the "Humble Petition of Who and Which"; and although the essayist makes the wrong assumption that these two pronouns had been displaced

[1] It has been customary to say that the relative springs from the interrogative, but the indefinite pronoun had the same form as the interrogative in Old English, and there are many good reasons for supposing the former rather than the latter is the antecedent of our relative pronoun.

by *that*, the essay gives clear evidence of a less extended use of *who* and *which* than at present. For a time after *who* took its place as a relative beside *which*, both were used indiscriminately for persons and things, as shown by Shakespeare's use. Finally *which* was limited, as at present, to references other than to persons, and *who* was employed for persons only, as when an interrogative. This distinction was urged in the *Spectator* mentioned above, where it was proposed, with little deference to the older language, to change the first clause of the Lord's Prayer into "Our Father *who* art in heaven."

402. In Middle English when *who* was beginning to be used as a relative, the neuter *what* was also occasionally so used. For example, in the *Ormulum* occurs the sentence, "They may show you all *what* it saith and meaneth." A similar relative use of *what* is also occasionally found in Shakespeare, as in *King John*, IV, 2, 75,

> "And I do fearfully believe 'tis done
> *What* we so feared he had a charge to do;"

or in *Henry VIII*, V, 1, 125–6,

> "I fear nothing
> *What* can be said against me."

Such expressions however would be considered vulgarisms at present, so that we may say *what* is no longer a relative pronoun in standard English, but either an interrogative or an indefinite. The common explanation of *what* as a relative, because it is equivalent to *that which*, depends on logical, not grammatical relations.

403. *Whose* and *whom*, the present genitive and accusative of *who*, spring from the old genitive and dative of *hwā*, *hwæt*, the dative masculine and feminine becoming the dative-accusative as in personal pronouns. These oblique cases, *whose*, *whom*, became common before the nominative *who* had established itself, perhaps because as genitive and dative they belonged originally to *what* as well as to *who*. As *which* was more common than *who* in a relative sense, *whose*, *whom* became attached to *which* when referring to persons, the accusative *which* being restricted to the neuter gender. This use of *which*, (*whose*), *whom* — *which* is found in Orm and is common in Chaucer. At the same time *of which*, *of whom* began to assume some of the functions of the older genitive, *whose* being used almost exclusively in a possessive sense. Later when *who* came into general use as a relative, *whose*, *whom*, by reason of likeness in form as well as through the influence of the interrogative, associated themselves with the personal relative. The genitive *whose* then became restricted to personal use, although *whose* as a neuter genitive is found in literature, especially poetry. As in the case of the interrogative, there has been occasional confusion between *who* and *whom*, the former being sometimes used as an accusative and the latter more rarely as a nominative. Examples of this use are common in Shakespeare, and we have also in Milton the well-known example, "Beelzebub . . . than *whom*, Satan except, none higher sat," *Paradise Lost*, II, 299–300. The explanation of *than* as a preposition in this expression is of course historically inaccurate.

404. The inflection of the Modern English relatives, with the exception of *that* which is invariable for gender, number, and case, is as follows. The singular and plural are the same both for *who* and *which*.

	Masculine and Feminine.		Neuter.
N.	who	which	which
G.	(whose)	[whose]	[whose]
D.A.	whom	which	which

No reference is here made to *what*, since the latter is not a relative pronoun in standard English as noted above. *Whom*, *which* are called dative-accusative although they are seldom used as datives except with prepositions.

The Indefinite Pronouns.

405. The indefinite pronouns are so named because they refer to general, usually unexpressed antecedents. Like demonstratives they may be employed as adjectives as well as pronouns. They are derived from pronouns or adjectives, in a few cases from nouns. In Old English the indefinites were a somewhat numerous class, and to these there have been some additions in modern times. For any adjective, constantly used substantively, either becomes a noun or partakes of the nature of an indefinite pronoun.

406. In Old English as in the classical languages, the interrogative pronouns were also indefinites, or more accurately perhaps, there were interrogative and indefinite pronouns of the same form. For instead of the indefinites being derived from the interrogatives, all interrogatives are essentially indefinites, differing only from the latter in being

used in sentences of interrogation. This is important since it is not generally recognized that *who, what, which* retain in Modern English an indefinite, beside an interrogative and a relative use, although the compound forms like *whoso, whosoever,* are often called indefinite relatives. A good example of *who* as indefinite is found in the Shakespearean "*Who* steals my purse steals trash," *Othello,* III, 3, 157, or in such a common expression as 'I don't know *who* it is.' *What,* the old neuter of *who,* is more frequently indefinite as in '*what* you say is true,' 'I saw *what* he was doing.' In fact, in the strict sense, *what* is always an indefinite or an interrogative in present English, since such relative uses as in the dialectal 'a man *what* begs' do not belong to the standard speech. The common statement that *what* is a compound relative equivalent to *that which* is, as before mentioned, logically true but grammatically incorrect. *Which* is less frequently indefinite, but it is certainly so in such expressions as 'I don't know *which* it is.' In Old English there was also an indefinite *whether* 'which of two.' This is now archaic but it occurred occasionally in Middle and early Modern English. The following is an example of its use from Spenser's *Fairie Queen,* B'k I, canto ii, st. xxxvii: —

> "One day in doubt I cast for to compare
> *Whether* in beauties glory did succeed."

407. Besides these simple indefinites should be mentioned their compounds *whoso, whosoever, whoever, whatso, whatsoever, whatever, whichever,* etc. These had their correspondences in Old English forms with *swā* 'so'

before as well as after the simple indefinite, as *swā-hwā-swā* 'whoso.' In Middle English times they lost the prefixed *swā*, becoming *whoso, whatso*, etc. In the same period the forms were strengthened by the addition of the adverb *ever* making *whosoever*, etc., and finally *whoever, whatever, whichever* were also formed. In addition, there occur in Shakespeare and present dialectal English such forms as *whosomever, whatsomever*. One other compound of *what* is *whatnot*, the etymology of which is uncertain. Perhaps it is but another form of the Old English indefinite *nāt-hwæt* 'I know not what.' The original compounds of *whether* have been greatly obscured by sound changes and by analogy. They are *either* OE. *āghwæðer* (*ægðer*), and *neither* apparently a new formation by analogy of *either*. There were also in Old English two forms *āhwæðer* 'one of two' and *nāhwæðer*, its corresponding negative. These became ME. *ǭðer, nǭðer* and later the Modern English conjunctions *or, nor*, the strong indefinite forms not being preserved.

408. The indefinites derived from adjectives are numerous. Here belong English *some*, OE. *sum; such* OE. *swelc, swilc; each* OE. *ǣlc*. To these were added in the Middle English period *other, both, many, few, little, all, enough, several, certain*, all from Old English adjectives except *both*, originally a compound *bāðā*, and *several, certain*, from the French. *Some* was formerly used as a pronoun more commonly than at present, but it still retains pronominal use in certain expressions as 'he went with *some* of his friends.' *Certain* had a similar use in Middle

and early Modern English, but is now archaic as a pronoun. *Enough* is pronominal in such expressions as '*enough* is as good as a feast.' These simple adjectival pronouns occur in compounds as *somebody, something, somewhat, every* < OE. *æfre* + *ælc, another.* Strictly *some one, one another, each other* are also compounds although they are written as separate words. Here may also be mentioned the indefinite *any* derived from the Old English numeral *ān* 'one.' Of later pronominal use are *one, none* in '*one* said,' '*none* came.' Compound indefinites are *any one, any body, anything, no body, nothing,* and the tautological *no one,* § 371. The indefinites *one, other,* have assumed inflected forms in the genitive singular and in the plural, as *one's, ones.*

409. Some of the compound indefinites already mentioned, as *somebody, anybody, anything,* contain a noun and might be called indefinite phrases made up of an adjective and a noun. One or two such compounds are Old English, so that we have indefinite pronouns that may be said to be derived from nouns. These are *aught, naught,* OE. *āwiht, nāwiht,* the last part of which is the noun *wight* originally meaning 'creature, thing.' In addition to these, the Old English used *man* as an indefinite like German *man* in *man sagt* 'one says,' 'they say.' This is preserved to Modern English mainly in the plural *men say, men die,* or sometimes in the singular with an article as in "Misery acquaints *a man* with strange bedfellows," *Tempest,* II, 2, 41.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE VERB.

410. Certain prominent characteristics of the Teutonic verb have been already mentioned, § 34. In general the Old English verb conformed to all these simple characteristics, a single inflected voice; two tenses; two complete modes besides an imperative in the present tense only; two numbers; and three verbal nouns, the infinitive, the present and perfect participles. The changes taking place in the verb since Old English times have all been in the direction of the analytic in language, but they are nevertheless of two kinds, one toward simplicity and the other toward complexity. The first is shown in the loss of inflections, the second in the building up of the compound forms. The loss of inflections through sound change and the great levelling force, analogy, will be considered later. The additions to the original verbal system by means of compound forms are a complete passive voice, four tenses in addition to the original two, a new mode, the potential as we call it, and one new infinitive and participle in both voices. These will receive proper attention in detail. But especially important in the history of the English verb are those forms which have been handed down from the earliest time and the changes which they have undergone.

411. The Teutonic verb, and the Old English as a representative of the Teutonic, comprised two principal groups, the strong and the weak, or as we call their descendants respectively the irregular and the regular. The first, or strong verb, except a few verbs with reduplicated preterits, distinguished its preterit tense and usually its perfect participle by different vowels from the present. The second, or weak verb, distinguished the same forms by a verbal suffix, the antecedent of the present *-ed*, *-d(t)*, in regular verbs. Both classes were inherited from the primitive Teutonic, itself an outgrowth of the Indo-European, although the use of gradation to express tense relations in the strong verb, and the dental preterit of weak verbs are peculiarly Teutonic. The first or strong class was the smaller of the two even in Old English, and except by analogy in a few cases it has since received no additions to its number from within the language, the mode of forming verbs by gradation having long ceased to exist. The second class, on the other hand, has been constantly on the increase, since new verbs have usually been formed on the model of the weak class, and those borrowed from foreign languages have almost without exception taken the same form after coming into English.

412. The natural result of this state of affairs has been that the comparatively small class of strong, or irregular verbs, has been constantly decreasing, both by losses outright, some verbs becoming obsolete, and by the influence of the weak verbs, some of the strong assuming the endings of the weak group. This latter effect has been due to the



influence of analogy, which however is now effectually resisted by literature and by the schools. That it is still strong notwithstanding is shown by the speech of children, who tend to make strong verbs weak. Although these strong verbs are few in number, only about one hundred or one-third of the original number being preserved, they are in many respects the most characteristic verbs of the language, and merit special attention.

The Strong Verb.

413. The Old English strong verb has two divisions, those distinguishing tenses by gradation, § 255, and those originally having reduplicated preterits, the reduplication, however, not being preserved in Old English. Reduplicating verbs may also show gradation. To the first division of the strong verb belong six classes, which have sprung through various phonetic influences, from the two gradation series of Teutonic, § 260, the first five from the *e*-series, the sixth from the *a*-series. These six classes were distinguished by the vowels of four stems, the present, the preterit singular, the preterit plural, and the perfect participle. They are as follows, class III being separated into three subclasses owing to certain forms peculiar to Old English.

	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.
I.	ī	ā	i	i
II.	ēo(ū)	ēa	u	o
III. 1)	i	a(ǫ)	u	u
2)	e	ea	u	o
3)	eo	ea	u	o
IV.	e	æ	ǣ	o
V.	e (i, ie)	æ	ǣ	e
VI.	a	ō	ō	a

414. The verbs of these classes, so far as they have come down to us unaffected by the weak verbs, have followed in general the ordinary changes of their characteristic vowels. For example English *write—wrote—written* corresponds stem for stem to the Old English *wrītan—wrāt—writen*, OE. *ī* and *ā* having regularly become MnE. *ai* (written *ī*), and *ō*, short *i* being preserved as usual. But the most marked change affecting all of these verbs since Old English times is the loss of one preterit stem, by which the four principal parts have been reduced to three. This levelling took place for the most part in late Middle English, although sometimes both preterit stems are preserved in Modern English. Of the two preterit stems in Old English sometimes one, sometimes the other has been retained in the modern speech, but more commonly the singular has outlasted the plural. While no strong verb has more than three stems in Modern English the analogical tendency has further reduced these three to two in some cases, as *cling—clung* for example, in which the second stem is both preterit and participle. Probably this is due to the influence of weak verbs which have regularly but two principal parts at present. The various classes, with the Modern English verbs belonging under them, are as follows. Occasional references will be made to strong verbs that have become weak, but fuller lists of the original strong verbs will be found in the Sievers-Cook *Grammar of Old English*.

415. CLASS I. — The Modern English verbs of this class may be divided into two subclasses, according as they have in the preterit the vowel of the Old English singular or plural. To subclass 1 belong,

(a)bide—(a)bode—(a)bode
drive—drove—driven
ride—rode—ridden
rise—rose—risen
shine—shone—shone
shrive—shrove—shriven
smite—smote—smitten
stride—strode—stridden
write—wrote—written.

To these must be added *thrive—throve—thriven* from the Norse, this verb belonging to the corresponding gradation class in that language and so being easily adopted into English. *Rive*, from the same source, is now weak but for the participial *riven*. One verb from the French *strive—strove—striven* (OF. *estriver*) has assumed strong forms by analogy of this class, these first appearing in Middle English. It is one of the few borrowed verbs which has become strong rather than weak. Subclass 2 includes only

bite—bit—bitten (bit) slide—slid—slidden (slid).

Four other verbs are often placed in this division, only one of which belonged here originally. This one is *strike—struck—struck* (*stricken*), the preterit of which, from OE. *strāc* ME. *strōk*, *strok*, has suffered shortening and change of vowel. The participle *stricken* is also archaic, so that, except for its present in *ai* (*ī*) this verb now belongs in class III. The second is *cleave* 'to adhere,' which really comes from a weak verb in Old English, although it assumed a strong preterit *clave* in Middle English by confusion with *cleave* 'to split,' § 417. The third verb is *chide*, also from a weak verb but becoming strong in early Modern English with a preterit and perfect participle *chode*, *chidden*. For *chode* see *Genesis* 31 : 36. Later, as in Shakespeare's time, the verb became *chide—chid—chidden*,

the new preterit either being a preservation of the old weak form or a new formation by analogy of *chidden*. A fourth verb often placed here is the weak *hide—hid—hidden*, the forms of which associate it with these verbs, although the short *i* of preterit and participle spring not from gradation but from vowel shortening. A dialectal *dive—dove—dove* is made up of a present from the weak verb *dive*, and an old preterit from a strong verb of class II.

416. The influence of analogy on these verbs has been considerable. For example the three stems have sometimes been reduced to two. The verbs *abide* and *shine* have perfect participles like the preterits, the older forms in short *i* having been levelled out. The opposite effect is seen in the old forms of *ride*, *write* in which the preterits *rode*, *wrote* were displaced in early Modern English by forms *rid*, *writ*, with the vowel of the participle. The verbs of subclass 2 have two forms only when the participle loses its *-en* as in *bite—bit—bit* (*bitten*). Formerly *abode* also had corresponding forms *abide—abid—abid*, but these are now antiquated. By analogy also some of these verbs have assumed weak forms, and others formerly belonging here have become wholly weak. Thus *shine*, *shrive*, *thrive*, have weak forms more or less commonly used, as *shine—shined*, etc. Verbs formerly belonging to class I but no longer retaining strong forms are *glide*, *gripe*, *sigh*, *slit*, *spew*, *twit* (OE. *æt-wītan*), *writhe*, *whine*. This list is often enlarged by the addition of *reap*, *sneak*, *wreathe*, but these are verbs of late formation or from forms not belonging to class I in Old English.



417. CLASS II.— Few verbs belonging originally to class II have remained strong, and these seem to be very irregular. Those that have come down with most regularity are,

cleave 'split'—clove—cloven freeze—froze—frozen,

although the latter has *z* in the participle for OE. *r*, § 28. *Cleave* often takes the preterit and perfect participle *cleft*, but these are historically inaccurate, since they rightly belong to the weak verb *cleave* 'to adhere.' In fact the two verbs became confused and their preterits have sometimes been interchanged. For instance *cleave* 'to adhere' has the preterit *clave* in Ruth 1 : 14, while *cleave* 'to split' has *cleft* for its preterit in Micah 1 : 4. One other verb *choose—chose—chosen* is regular but for the present in *oo* (*ū*), rather than in *ee* (*ī*) as we should expect. Both *chēs* and *chōs* for the present were common in Middle English, only the latter analogical form having been handed down in standard English. The same is true of *shoot—shot—shot* in which the vowel of the preterit is due to analogy of the participle, or to shortening before a dental, § 235. Like *shoot—shot* in forms having short *o* is *seethe—sod—sodden*, the strong forms of which are often replaced by weak forms *seethed—seethed*. The old forms of *seethe* are also interesting because they alone preserve among English strong verbs the change of consonant (*th—d*) due to Verner's law, § 24. Another verb *fly—flew—flown* has other changes, due especially to the *g* of the Old English word *flēogan* which has become vocalized and has variously affected the preceding vowel. The dialectal preterit *dove*, from an Old English verb of this second class, has been already noted, § 415.

The remaining verbs originally belonging here have become weak so far as they have been preserved. Some of them appear with *ee*(*ī*) as *creep, flee, reek;* some with *iu*(*ū*) as *brew, chew, rue;* and some with *au* as *bow, sprout, crowd,* these last from Old English forms with *ū* in the present. Other verbs with original *ū* in the present now appear with *u* (*ʊ*), as *suck, sup, shove,* by shortening.

418. CLASS III. — The verbs of the third gradation class had in Gothic, as a representative of early Teutonic, but one set of forms with the vowels *i—a—u—u*. In Old English, however, owing to the variations these vowels show under various phonetic influences, there were three distinct subclasses as follows: —

1. Verbs with *i* followed by a nasal and a consonant.
2. Verbs with *e*(*ie, eo*) followed by *l* and a consonant.
3. Verbs with *eo* followed by *r* or *h* and a consonant.

Of these the verbs of the first subclass are alone preserved with consistency, most of the verbs of the other subclasses having become weak. In the first subclass also are many of our characteristic strong verbs. It is particularly worthy of note that no verbs of class III preserve a trace of the participial ending *-en*.

419. The verbs of the first subclass must again be separated into certain minor groups owing to regular differences resulting from phonetic change or from analogy. All the groups, however, are somewhat bound together by the fact that the present tenses of the verbs have written *i* followed by a nasal and another consonant. The first minor group includes those verbs that have *i* followed by *nd*, this

consonant combination causing lengthening of the original short *i* in the present and of *u* in preterit and participle, § 236. Here belong,

bind—bound—bound	grind—ground—ground
find—found—found	wind—wound—wound.

One verb with final *mb*, *climb*, was found in Old English, but it has become weak except for the dialectal preterit *clomb*, from the Old English preterit *clamb*. It will be noticed that in all other verbs of this group a form from the preterit plural rather than from the singular has been preserved.

420. The second minor group includes those verbs that have preterits with the vowel *a*(*æ*), as

drink—drank—drunk	sing—sang—sung
(be)gin—(be)gan—(be)gun	sink—sank—sunk
ring—rang—rung	spring—sprang—sprung
shrink—shrank—shrunk	swim—swam—swum.

Nearly all of these have preterits in *u*, as *drunk*, *begun*, in the older works of our literature, but they are scarcely standard English of the nineteenth century. Like (*be*)*gin* is *gin* found in the older literature, and here belongs also the verb *run—ran—run*, the present having *u* instead of *i*. The verb *ring* above, originally weak, became strong by analogy. With these verbs of the second minor group may be associated those of the third with regular preterits in *u* instead of *a*. They are,

cling—clung—clung	sting—stung—stung
sling—slung—slung	swing—swung—swung
slink—slunk—slunk	win—won—won
spin—spun—spun	wring—wrung—wrung.
stink—stunk—stunk	

These verbs have no modern forms in *a* except *stink*, which is seldom used. To this class belongs *fling—flung—flung* from the Norse, and *string—strung—strung*, the latter formed in early Modern English from the substantive by analogy. One verb *dig*, originally weak, has assumed in Modern English a preterit and participle in *u*, *dug—dug*, by analogy of the verbs above, while it also retains the weak forms. The lateness of this formation is seen from the fact that only the weak forms occur in the Bible and Shakespeare. For *stick—stuck—stuck*, see § 422. Originally the verb *burn* (OE. *beornan*) with *u* in the present like *run* belonged to this class, but it is now weak. *Cringe*, *ding* are also weak, the latter not found in Old English. Besides here belongs the poetic *swink* 'to labour,' which however has not been preserved in all its forms.

421. The verbs of the second and third subclasses have become weak so far as preserved, with two exceptions. The first of these is *fight—fought—fought* (OE. *feohtan*), and the second is *burst—burst—burst* (OE. *berstan*). The latter might easily be mistaken for a weak verb like *cast*, *cut*, but it was originally strong and it has never had a dental preterit except in such dialectal forms as *bursted*, *busted*. The verbs of the second subclass usually preserve the Old English *e* of the present, as *delve*, *help*, *melt*, *swell*, *yell*, *yelp*, *yield*, the latter with lengthening in Middle English. The old participles of *melt*, *swell*,—*molten*, *swollen*—still remain as adjectives, while the older *holpen* is also dialectal. Two verbs have not preserved the original vowel of the present, *milk* < OE. *meolcan*, *sulk* < OE. *seolcan*. The verbs of

the third subclass had *eo* before *r* and a consonant, only *fight* (OE. *feohtan*) representing *eo* before *h* and a consonant. This *eo* became *e* in Middle English, and under the influence of *r* was converted into *a* before the end of the sixteenth century, § 230. This accounts for *ar* in *bark*, *carve*, *starve*, probably *jar* from OE. **ceorran* 'to turn.' Irregular in its form is the defective *worth* 'become' (OE. *weorðan*), found only in such expressions as 'woe *worth* the day.' Some verbs belonging to class III were irregular in Old English. These have all become weak as *mourn*, *spurn*, *thresh* (*thrash*).

422. CLASS IV. — This was a very small class in Old English, and there are therefore few verbs belonging to it at present. Most of these have the vowel *ō* in preterit and participle, but the vowels of the present are various, owing to different developments since Middle English times. They are,

bear—bore—borne
break—broke—broken
shear—(shore)—shorn
steal—stole—stolen
tear—tore—torn.

Quite irregular is our common verb *come—came—come* from forms that were also somewhat irregular in Old English. To this class belonged originally a verb *stecan* 'pierce,' beside which there was a weak verb *stician* 'pierce, adhere.' These two were confused, and only one verb has remained, with both meanings however. The preterit and participle of this verb *stick—stuck—stuck* have been influenced by the verbs of class III, so that it now belongs by analogy to that class. A weak preterit *sticked*, existing

in early Modern English, is now found only in dialects. By analogy also the Old English weak verb *werian* 'wear' has become *wear—wore—wore* like *bear—bore—bore*. On the contrary the verb *shear* has weak forms which have almost displaced the strong.

423. CLASS V.—The verbs of class V show considerable irregularity owing to vowel changes and analogy. Moreover, even in Old English the verbs of this class differed from those of class IV only in the participle, so that it is not strange that the two classes have influenced one another. We may divide the verbs of class V into two general classes according as they have written *a* or *o* in the preterit, although the *a*, *o*, have developed differently as they have been differently influenced by following vowels or consonants. To the first subclass belong

bid—bade—bidden	lie—lay—lain
eat—ate—eaten	see—saw—seen
give—gave—given	sit—sat—sat.

To account for the phonetic differences in the *a* of the preterits, we must remember that *a* was regularly shortened before the dentals as in *bade*, *sat*, § 235, and that *a* of *saw* became *ǭ* after its union with *w*. The presents with *i* as *bid*, *give*, *lie*, *sit* are due to changes completed in Old English. *Eaten* and *seen* preserve the old participial vowel *e* but with lengthening in later times. The verb *bid* with its compound *forbid* requires a word of explanation. There were two strong verbs in Old English having some likeness in form, *biddan* 'pray, ask' of this class, and *bēodan* 'offer, command' of class II. In the course of their development



these were much confused and *bid—bade* assumed the meaning 'command' along with its older meaning 'ask, invite,' the last being kept especially in the participle *bidden*. Beside this the meanings 'offer' and earlier 'pray' also remain to an invariable verb *bid*. The verb *spit—spit*, which earlier had a preterit *spat* associating it with these verbs, is now invariable. The older forms were probably due to mixture of two weak verbs *spittan* and *spǣtan* with the same meaning. The second subclass with preterits in *ŏ* are,

get—got—got (gotten)	tread—trod—trodden
speak—spoke—spoken	weave—wove—woven.

The short *o* in *got, trod* is due to shortening before dentals, as in the case of *bade, sat* above. Otherwise all these verbs, as far as Modern English is concerned, might be associated with the verbs of class IV. The form *gotten* beside *got* is a late development. The older *geten* was first displaced by *got* by analogy of the preterit, after which *gotten* was formed by analogy of the other participles in *-en*. The verbs *get, give* included in this class do not properly spring from OE. *gietan, giefan*, since these verbs should now have initial *y* as shown by Chaucer's *yiven*. The forms with hard *g* have really been due to the corresponding Norse verbs which have influenced or supplanted the others. An old preterit *quoth* is all that now remains of an Old English verb *cweðan* belonging to class V, its compound *bequeath* being wholly weak. Other verbs of this class that have become weak are *knead, mete, play*.

424. Class VI. — The verbs of class VI were few in number in Old English and few examples have remained to

the present time. These verbs should appear in Modern English with *oo* ($\bar{u}$) in the preterit but some of them have $\bar{o}$, probably by analogy of similar preterits in classes IV and V. Disregarding these changes, however, the list is as follows: —

heave—hove—hove	swear—swore—sworn
(for-)sake—sook—saken	wake—woke—woke
shake—shook—shaken	(a-)wake—woke—waked.
stand—stood—stood	

The apparent irregularities of these verbs are capable of explanation. Only *forsake*, *shake* and sometimes *awake* preserve the vowel *a* of the participle, the others having participles like the preterits. The presents *heave*, *swear* are due to forms with $e < a$ by mutation in Old English, while *stand* differs from its preterit and participle by reason of an *n* which belonged only to the present even in Old English. This class includes one verb from the Norse, *take—took—taken*, which belonged to the corresponding gradation class in that language and so easily associated itself with Old English verbs of the same kind. Another verb which is also weak, *stave—stove—stove*, was formed from the substantive in early Modern English, while *reeve—rove—rove* is a nautical term, perhaps from the Dutch, with strong forms by analogy. The verbs *slay—slew—slain* and *draw—drew—drawn*, also belonging to this class, have peculiar forms due to contraction. As in the other classes some verbs originally belonging to class VI have become weak, although some of these have old participles in *-en*. They are *ache*, *bake*, *gnaw*, *grave*, *lade*, *shape*, *shave*, *wade*, *wax*; the old participles now used only as adjectives however are *gnawn*, *graven*, *laden*, *shapen*, *shaven*.



The Reduplicating Verbs.

425. The reduplicating verbs are put in a class by themselves because of their reduplicating preterits and the contraction resulting therefrom in Old English. These verbs are significant as forming a connecting link between the Teutonic languages and Greek and Latin, the reduplicating preterits of the one and the reduplicating perfects of the others having a similar origin. Reduplication was perfectly preserved only in Gothic, the oldest representative of Teutonic. In Old English these verbs were divided into two classes by reason of different vowels in the preterit, but these two classes became one in Middle English through ordinary vowel changes. Reduplicating verbs differed in one other respect from the remaining strong verbs, since their four principal stems had but two different vowels, the vowels of the present and participle on the one hand and those of the preterit singular and plural on the other being the same. Most of the Modern English verbs have three forms however, owing to the common preservation of the *-en* (*n*) of the participle. The list includes,

beat—beat—beaten (beat)	hold—held—held
blow—blew—blown	know—knew—known
fall—fell—fallen	let—let—let 'allow'
grow—grew—grown	throw—threw—thrown.

Of these *hold* has its participle by analogy of the preterit, although *holden*, *beholden* are archaic forms, while *let* has become invariable by shortening of two different Old

English vowels, $\bar{æ}$ of the present and $\bar{e}$ of the preterit. From this *let* must be distinguished the older *let* 'hinder,' originally a weak verb. The verb *crow*, while now weak, has in early Modern English the preterit *crew*. *Hew*, *mow*, *sow* have weak preterits but retain the strong participles *hewn*, *mown*, *sown* beside weak forms. Sometimes the verb *hang—hung—hung* is said to belong here, but this is true only in a modified sense. There was in Old English a reduplicating verb *hōn—heng—hongen* 'hang' while there was also a weak verb *hangian* with similar meaning. In Middle English the latter became *hangen*, and the old infinitive *hōn* of the reduplicating verb was replaced by the analogical form *hongen*. Later these two presents became the same, *hang*, both weak and strong forms remaining. The latter then became *hung—hung* perhaps by analogy of class III. The other verbs of the reduplicating class have become weak as *blend*, *claw*, *dread*, *flow*, *fold*, *glow*, *leap*, *low*, *row*, *salt*, *sleep*, *swoop*, *weep*, *wheeze*, *wield*.

Strong Forms by Analogy.

426. It has already been pointed out that many of the strong verbs have become weak owing to the influence of this much larger class. In a few cases however the influence of analogy has been in the opposite direction, some of the weak verbs taking forms analogous to those of the strong classes. This result is no doubt due not so much to the numbers of the strong verbs, as to the frequency with which they are used both colloquially and in literature. We have already indicated some verbs that have become

strong although originally weak, or newly derived words which we should have expected to become weak. These are *dig*, *reeve*, *spit*, *stave*, *stick*, *string*, *strive*, *wear*. Some other weak verbs, while retaining weak forms, have been so far influenced by strong verbs as to take *-en*(*-n*) in the perfect participles. *Hide* has been mentioned already, § 415. *Saw*, *show*, *strew*, have beside the weak forms the strong participles *sawn*, *shown*, *strewn*. The verb *prove* from the French has *proven* beside *proved*. Milton uses *paven* in Comus, and there is also a dialectal *boughten*.

Classification of Modern English Strong Verbs.

427. While with the various divisions and subdivisions it has been necessary to make in the preceding historical treatment, the irregularities of the strong verb seem considerable, it is still possible from the standpoint of Modern English alone to reduce the number of subdivisions by disregarding certain minor differences. For greater simplicity in arrangement the stem vowels of the various classes are represented by their phonetic equivalents, § 211. This is made necessary by the great diversity in the Modern English spelling of the same sound.

428. Class I. — Under class I may be placed all strong verbs with the diphthong *ai*, written *ī* in the present and a general agreement in preterit and participle. Owing to the vowels of the latter forms, however, three subdivisions may be made in the verbs of this class, as follows: —

1) ai—ō—i (ō)
abide—abode—abode
drive—drove—driven
ride—rode—ridden
rise—rose—risen
rive—[rove]—riven
shine—shone—shone
shrive—shrove—shriven
smite—smote—smitten
stride—strode—stridden
thrive—throve—thriven
write—wrote—written.

2) ai—au—au
bind—bound—bound
find—found—found
fight—fought—fought
grind—ground—ground
wind—wound—wound.

3) ai—i—i
bite—bit—bitten (bit)
chide—chid—chidden
slide—slid—slidden.

429. CLASS II.—To this class belong all verbs with short *i* in the present, *ʊ* (*but*) in the participle, and either *æ*, or *ʊ* (*but*) in the preterit. The verbs *hang*, *run*, *strike* may be placed here for their agreement in preterit and participle, although they have *æ*, *ʊ*, *ai*, respectively in the present. Here also it is better to make two subdivisions.

1) i(ʊ)—æ—ʊ (but)
drink—drank—drunk
(be)gin—(be)gan—(be)gun
ring—rang—rung
shrink—shrank—shrunk
sing—sang—sung
sink—sank—sunk
spring—sprang—sprung
swim—swam—swum

run—ran—run.

2) i(æ, ai)—ʊ—ʊ
cling—clung—clung
dig—dug—dug
fling—flung—flung
sling—slung—slung
slink—slunk—slunk
spin—spun—spun
stick—stuck—stuck
stink—stunk—stunk
sting—stung—stung
string—strung—strung
swing—swung—swung
win—won—won
wring—wrung—wrung

hang—hung—hung
strike—struck—struck.



430. CLASS III. — In this class may be placed the verbs that regularly have $\bar{o}$, occasionally ϱ by shortening, in preterit and participle although their presents have various vowels. It is desirable to separate here into subclasses according to the vowels of the present, except in the case of the last four verbs with ϱ instead of $\bar{o}$ in preterit and participle.

1) ī(ū)—ō—ō
cleave—clove—cloven
freeze—froze—frozen
heave—hove—hove
reeve—rove—rove
shear—shore—shore
steal—stole—stolen
speak—spoke—spoken
weave—wove—woven

choose—chose—chosen.

2) ǣ(there)—ō—ō
bear—bore—borne
tear—tore—torn
swear—swore—sworn
wear—wore—worn.

3) ē—ō—ō
break—broke—broken
stave—stove—stove
wake—woke—woke.

4) e(i, ū)—ǫ—ǫ
get—got—got(gotten)
seethe—sod—sodden
shoot—shot—shot
tread—trod—trodden.

431. CLASS IV. — In this class may be placed two subclasses, in each of which the preterits are characterized by the same vowel or diphthong although the presents and participles vary.

1) ō(ǭ, ai, ē)—iu—ō(ǭ, ē)
blow—blew—blown
draw—drew—drawn
fly—flew—flown
grow—grew—grown
know—knew—known
throw—threw—thrown
slay—slew—slain.

2) ē(æ)—u—ē(u)
(for-)sake—(for-)sook—(for-)saken
shake—shook—shaken
stand—stood—stood
take—took—taken.

432. CLASS V. — Here may be placed the remaining strong verbs which fall into three fairly regular divisions. Those of the first two subdivisions are regular in their preterits although the vowels of the present and participles are various. The other verbs although strong are invariable in their vowels.

1) Preterits in ē(æ, ǭ)
bid—bade—bidden
come—came—come
eat—ate—eaten
give—gave—given
lie—lay—lain
sit—sat—sat
see—saw—seen.

2) Preterits in e
fall—fell—fallen
hold—held—held.

3) Invariable
beat—beat—beaten
bid—bid—bid
burst—burst—burst
let—let—let.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE VERB (Continued).

The Weak Verb.

433. So much space has been devoted to the discussion of the strong, or irregular verb, because of its importance historically. But from the standpoint of the present speech the weak, or regular verb, is far more important. This alone is the living and growing class to-day. The strong verb, in spite of a few accessions, has been the losing class in the whole history of English. The weak verb alone has been gaining ground from the earliest times by additions both from within the language and from without. The weak verb in the Teutonic languages is distinguished from the strong by the dental preterit of the former as distinct from the gradation preterit of the latter. Of the origin of this preterit with a dental suffix and the manner in which it came into use, little is certainly known. An older theory regarded the dental preterit as developed from the root of the verb *do*, an Indo-European *dha*. On this theory such a form as *loved*, for example, was supposed to be equivalent to *love* + *did*. But this theory has been given up or greatly modified in recent times, although scholars are still not agreed as to the exact origin of the suffix now so important a part of the verbal system in all

Teutonic languages. At least it is certain that the dental preterit originated in an Indo-European suffix which has become thus completely specialized only in the Teutonic tongues.

434. A less important difference between the weak and the strong verb is that while the latter regularly has four stems represented in its principal parts, the former has but three. These are the present, the preterit, and the perfect participle, the preterit having but one stem instead of two as in the strong verb. The same analogical influence which has reduced the four stems of the strong verb to three, and sometimes to two, has had a similar influence upon the weak verb, so that its three stems have been reduced to two, sometimes to one, as in the invariable verbs. In addition to other differences between the weak and the strong verbs, it may be pointed out that the majority of the former are derivative, being formed from nouns, adjectives and other verbs. This does not mean, however, that they were all formed in Teutonic times since many of them were inherited from the Indo-European. Even of the weak verbs a few were not derivative, as for example *have* and *will*, corresponding to Latin *habeo*, *volo*.

435. Weak verbs in Modern English are usually regarded as belonging to one large class, characterized by our modern grammarians as forming the preterit and perfect participle by adding *-ed* or *-d* to the verbal root. This general statement, however, is far from accurate in the strictest sense as may be shown by numerous examples. For instance the weak verb *have—had* does not exactly come under this

form of statement, while *feed—fed, cut—cut,* do not add *-ed* or *-d* to any of their forms. The first shows only change of vowel in preterit and participle although it is not a strong verb, and the last is invariable in its principal parts. From these and other facts it is clear that the regular verbs as we call them have certain irregularities, or peculiarities requiring to be examined and described. We shall find also that in order to understand these peculiarities it is necessary, as in the case of nouns and adjectives, to go back to Old English times.

436. In Old English, weak verbs were of three classes according to formation and conjugation, although quite another division might be made in reference to meaning and use. The three classes are distinguished by different Teutonic suffixes as follows:

I. The *ǰo*-class, the suffix being Indo-European *-eǰo-*, Teutonic *ǰo-*, *-io-*.

II. The *ō*-class, the suffix in Teutonic being *-ōǰo-*, *-ō-*.

III. The *ai*-class, the Teutonic suffix being *-ai-* interchanging with *-ǰo-*.

In tracing the development of these classes it must be remembered, that in Old English the distinction of long and short stems belongs to verbs as to nouns and adjectives, and that owing to this distinction certain phonetic changes resulted which would not otherwise have come about. The weak verbs are so numerous that it would be impossible to give anything like complete lists, but we may still trace the formation and development of each group.

437. CLASS I. — Weak verbs of the first class formed their Old English preterits in one of two ways. Original long stems, polysyllabic verbs, and original short stems ending in *d*, formed the preterit tense by adding *-de;* those ending in *p*, *t*, *c* (= *k*), *ff*, *ss*, and *x* added *-te*. Original long stems may be exemplified by OE. *dēman—dēmde* 'deem—deemed'; *hīeran—hīerde* 'hear—heard'; *dǣlan —dælde* 'deal—dealt.' Examples of original short stems ending in *d*, are OE. *hreddan—hredde* 'rid—rid'; *tred-dan—tredde* 'tread.' Examples of those adding *-te* are OE. *settan—sette* 'set,' *dyppan—dypte*, 'dip'; *pyffan—pyfte* 'puff'; *cyssan—cyste* 'kiss'; *lixan—lixte* 'shine.' Most other verbs of the first class formed their preterits by adding *-ede* to the present stem. Examples are OE. *styrian—styrede* 'stir'; *dynnan—dynnede* 'din.' Verbs of both these varieties formed their perfect participles by adding *-ed* to the present stem. Examples are OE. *ge-dēmed, ge-fylled* 'deemed,' 'filled.' The prefix *ge-*, appearing in these verbs and not hitherto mentioned, was usually prefixed to the perfect participle of uncompounded verbs, although some forms are found without it, especially strong verbs. It is cognate with Latin *co-*, *con-*, the *g* instead of *h* in Teutonic being due to the principle of lack of stress involved in Verner's law, § 24. The prefix was no doubt originally used with the perfect participle as implying completeness of the action.

438. A few important verbs of class I are irregular in adding the termination of the preterit and participle directly to the stem. The preterit of these verbs thus ends in



-de (*-te*) and the participle in *-d* (*-t*), as *sellan—sealde—geseald* 'sell—sold' or *bringan—brōhte—gebroht* 'bring—brought.' The list includes some of the most common verbs although it is not numerous. As the preterit and perfect participle of all weak verbs is the same, only two stems need be given.

bring—brought	teach—taught
buy—bought	tell—told
seek—sought	think—thought
sell—sold	work—(wrought).

Others originally belonging here, now regular, are *dwell, reach, stretch,* while *work* has regular forms more commonly. Beside *think—thought* there is an old present of the same form but different meaning, appearing only in the expression *methinks* 'it seems to me.' There were in fact two verbs in Old English with slightly different forms, both of which have been levelled under *think.* It should be explained, that the difference in vowel between the presents and preterits of these verbs is due to mutation of the present stem, that is to changes peculiar to Teutonic verbs. The small group of verbs mentioned above influenced three verbs from foreign sources so that they took analogous forms in preterit and participle; they are *catch—caught; distract—(distraught) distracted; freight—(fraught) freighted.* In the case of the last two the regular forms have later displaced those due to analogy.

439. CLASSES II, III. Weak verbs of the second, or *ō*-class, formed their preterits by adding to the present stem the suffix *-ode,* this sometimes appearing even in Old

English as *-ade*, *-ude*, or *-ede*. Examples of these are OE. *locian—locode* 'look—looked'; *tacnian—tacnode* '(be)-token—(be)tokened.' The ending of the perfect participle in verbs of class II was *-od*, sometimes weakened to *-ad*, *-ud*. Examples are *ge-lōcod* 'looked,' *getācnod* 'tokened.' Weak verbs of the third class were few in number, and still fewer have been retained to the present time. These few were like irregular verbs of the first class in forming their preterits in *-de*, and their participles in *-d*. The only verbs of this class now in use are *have—had*, *live—lived*, *say—said*, the second of which is now entirely regular.

440. The vowel changes taking place in Middle English, § 336, reduced all these verbs to two classes forming their preterits in one of two ways. The preterit suffix in one class was *-de* (*-te*), in the other class was *-ede*. The perfect participles in Middle English were even more regular, the majority of verbs adding *-ed*, only a few exceptional ones adding *-d* (*-t*). These changes were followed in later Middle English by the dropping of the final *e* as in nouns and other parts of speech, a change first affecting the *-ede* ending of the preterit. As early as Chaucer's time the *-ede* ending had begun to lose its final *e* while still later it was also lost from the *-de* ending of verbs of the other class. In Chaucer's time also the syncopation of *e* before *d* in the preterit and participle had begun to occur, although the change was not fully carried out until Modern English times. The usage of Shakespeare for example differs from present English in a somewhat more frequent employment of the syllabic *-ed*, still found occasionally as a poetical license.



441. While the syncopation of *e* before *d* in the suffix *-ed* has taken place with great uniformity in English, it was originally resisted in the participle of many verbs ending in *d, t* as *girded, greeted,* OE. *ge-gyrded, ge-grēted.* Later these participial forms were introduced into the preterits by analogy and these forms have remained to the present day, syllabic *-ed* regularly forming the preterit and perfect participle of uncontracted verbs ending in *d* or *t.*

Irregular Weak Verbs.

442. The forms so far traced are those of what we call the regular verb in Modern English. By a somewhat different, but still natural phonetic and analogical development, certain weak verbs are now slightly irregular. For example a small number of verbs ending in *d, t,* instead of taking new preterits by analogy of their participles, simplified their participles by analogy of their preterits. By the loss of final *e* the preterits of these verbs, originally ending in *-de, -te,* became like the present stems, except that those having a long vowel in the present regularly suffered shortening in the preterit during Middle English times, § 235. In some cases, therefore, there seems to be vowel change in the preterit, while others are invariable in all forms. These are still weak verbs, however, although they are sometimes incorrectly classed as strong verbs. Those ending in *d* are

bleed—bled	lead—led	shred—shred
breed—bred	read—read	speed—sped
feed—fed	rid—rid	spread—spread
hide—hid	shed—shed	wed—wed.

Of these *hide*, especially when it takes the participle *hidden*, may perhaps be considered strong by analogy, § 415. Formerly *betide* with its older preterit *betid* belonged here but now only *betided* is in good use. By analogy *plead* from the French belongs to this class, although it also has the regular forms in syllabic *-ed* as have also *shred, speed, wed.* The list of those ending in *t* includes

bet—bet	light—lit	split—split
cast—cast	meet—met	sweat—sweat
cost—cost	put—put	thrust—thrust
cut—cut	quit—quit	wet—wet
hit—hit	set—set	whet—whet.
hurt—hurt	shut—shut	
knit—knit	slit—slit	

Most of these are from Old English or Norse, but *cut* is of uncertain origin, and *bet, cost, quit* are from Old French. Some have regular forms in *-ed* as *bet, knit, light, quit, slit, split, sweat, wet, whet. Wont* 'accustomed,' itself a perfect participle from OE. *woned*, was formerly made into an invariable verb, while it had also the double preteritive form *wonted.* The latter is still used as an adjective.

443. It has already been pointed out that verbs ending in *p, t, c*(=*k*), *ff, ss, x*, added *-te* instead of *-de* in the preterit. The development of verbs in *t* has already been explained. It is not so generally recognized that stems in final *f, k, p, s* (not *z*), *x*(=*ks*), still take phonetic *t* in preterit and participle although this is not represented by the spelling in *-ed.* Examples are *stuffed, asked, dipped, passed, braced, mixed.* The same is true of verbs now ending in *f*(*sh*) and *tf*(*ch, tch*) whether from Old English forms in *sc* or *c*, which have

become palatalized, or from other sources. Examples are *abashed*, *matched*. Some verbs in final *p* are still spelled with *t* in the preterit as *creep*, *keep*, *sleep*, *sweep*, *weep*, while *leap* is sometimes so spelled. *Leave* and *bereave* which now have *v* in the present by the voicing of original *f*, have always had *ft* in preterit and participle, although the second has also a regular form *bereaved*. So *lost*, while its original *s* has become phonetically *z* in the present, has always had *st* in preterit and participle. Beside these verbs, which regularly have *t* in preterits and participles, there are a few others in which the *t* is an assimilation from an original *d*. These are all verbs ending in *l*, *m*, *n* or in *nd*, *ld*, *rn*, *rd*, and the assimilation had taken place as early as the time of Chaucer. The list includes,

bend—bent	dwell—dwelt	lend—lent
blend—blent	feel—felt	mean—meant
build—built	gird—girt	rend—rent
burn—burnt	kneel—knelt	send—sent
deal—dealt	lean—leant	smell—smelt
dream—dreamt	learn—learnt	spend—spent.

Of these *deal*, *dwell*, *feel*, *lend*, *mean*, *send*, *spend* have *t* forms only, while the others have also forms in *-ed*, pronounced *d* or syllabic *ed* in different cases. *Gild* with its old preterit *gilt* hardly belongs here at present although it exemplifies a similar change. One other preterit belongs to this class although it is no longer associated with its etymological present. This is *went* originally a part of the verb *wend* but now used exclusively as the preterit of the verb *go*.

444. In addition to verbs ending in *d* and *t* having irregular forms in preterit and participle, one verb ending in

r has preterit and participle in *-d* but with short vowel, as *hear—heard.* In dialects, however, the same vowel occurs throughout, as *hīr—hīrd.* Syncope of *e* before *d* early occurred in verbs ending in a vowel. As a rule verbs of this class preserve the vowel of the present throughout, but shortening has occurred in *flee—fled; say—said; shoe—shod.* Three other weak verbs are irregular in other ways. *Have—had, make—made,* have lost their final consonants *v, k* in preterit and participle. A similar loss of *k* is seen in the Shakespearean *ta'en* for *taken.* *Clothe* has also an irregular preterit *clad* perhaps from the Norse, beside the regular form *clothed.* One general change took place in the spelling of most preterits and perfect participles after the present phonetic form of the weak verb had been reached. By analogy of the written form most verbs were spelled with *-ed,* even when the phonetic form was *d, t.* On this, and this only, is based the statement of our modern grammarians, that the regular verbs make their preterits and perfect participles by adding *-ed.* As pointed out before, this is inaccurate historically and phonetically.

445. One other division of the weak verbs requires special mention. There were in Old English certain verbs of class II ending in *-nian.* In Middle English the loss of *-en,* as in other verbs, still left a final *n* which came to be written *-en* as in *darken, fasten,* although it has remained *-n* in the verb *learn.* During the same period some verbs of the corresponding class were added from Norse, and later others were formed by analogy, some even from French words borrowed into the language as *chasten, moisten,*

straiten. In all cases these verbs retain *-en* in all forms, that is, it has become a part of the stem. The list includes,

batten	fatten	lighten (make easy)	slacken
blacken	flatten	liken	smoothen
bolden	freshen	listen	soften
brazen	gladden	liven	stiffen
brighten	glisten	loosen	straighten
broaden	happen	madden	straiten
chasten	harden	moisten	strengthen
cheapen	hasten	quicken	thicken
christen	hearken	ridden	tighten
darken	hearten	ripen	token
deaden	heighten	roughen	toughen
deafen	learn	sadden	waken
deepen	lengthen	sharpen	weaken
(be)dizen	lessen	shorten	whiten
fasten	lighten (make light)	sicken	widen.

VERBAL INFLECTION.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

446. The simplicity of our Modern English verbal inflection is a striking proof of the tendency to uniformity which has characterized the development of English. The Old English inflectional system has been reduced to five (often four) forms for strong verbs, as *sing*, *sings*, *singing*, *sang*, *sung*, and four, as *stir*, *stirs*, *stirring*, *stirred*, for the weak verb. The first three of these belong, it will be seen, to the present system which will naturally have the first consideration. The present system in Old English was inflected as follows, minor differences being disregarded, although examples are given of a strong verb, and of short and long

stems of the weak verb, class I, from which our present forms have come.

		Strong.	Weak.	
		Indicative.		
Singular	1	binde 'bind'	styrie 'stir'	dēme 'deem'
	2	bindest	styrest	dēm(e)st
	3	bindeð	styreð	dēm(e)ð
Plural	1, 2, 3	bindaþ	styriaþ	dēmaþ
		Optative.		
Singular	1, 2, 3	binde	styrie	dēme
Plural	1, 2, 3	binden	styrien	dēmen
		Imperative.		
Singular	2	bind (binde)	styre	dēm
Plural	1	bindan	styrian	dēman
	2	bindaþ	styriaþ	dēmaþ
		Infinitive.		
		bindan(-anne)	styrian(-anne)	dēman(-anne)
		Participles.		
		bindende	styriende	dēmende

It will be seen that the three general changes, the weakening of unstressed *a* to *e*, the loss of final *n*, and then of final *e* as in other inflectional forms, account for much of the inflectional levelling from Old to Modern English. Other changes require special attention.

447. The Old English forms of the indicative singular have not been retained except in the first person *bind*, the others, as *bindest*, *bindeth*, remaining only in the archaic

language of poetry and prayers. The second personal *bind* is an introduction from the plural along with *you* for *thou*, § 380. The form of the third person in *-s*, as *binds*, is not a phonetic development of the Midland form in *-eth*. It is supposed to be due to Northern influence, since the Northern form had final *-es* in the third person as well as in the second and sometimes the first. The Modern English plural *bind* without suffix is not the direct descendant of the Old English *bindaþ*. In Middle English a plural in *-en* was in use, having displaced the form in *-eth* < *aþ*, perhaps because the latter could not be distinguished from the third person singular. The *-en* ending was probably due to analogy of the optative *-en* and the Middle English preterit *-en* < OE. *-on* by vowel weakening. Later, by the loss of final *n* and then of final *e* the plural assumed its present form. These changes did not take place until late Middle and early Modern English, since such forms as *bindest*, *bindeth*, *binden* were regular in Chaucer and they sometimes survived in the early modern speech.

448. The Old English optative, or subjunctive, became, by the ordinary changes in finals, the same as the indicative except in the third person singular. The use of the subjunctive, however, remained in Modern English as shown by its use in Shakespeare and the Bible, but its place is now almost wholly supplied by indicative forms, except in poetry. The imperative retained in Middle English a plural in *-eth*, but this was not always used in Chaucer's time. Later all endings were dropped both in singular and plural. The infinitive in *-an* and its inflected

form in *-anne* became indistinguishable in Middle English, and finally both were reduced to the present form, perhaps partly under the influence of Northern forms which had lost the final *n* in Old English times. The *to*, now considered part of the infinitive form, belonged originally only to the inflected form, but it gradually became established with all infinitives except after auxiliaries and a few other verbs. The participial ending *-ende* was displaced in Middle English by the suffix *-ing*, *-inge* probably by analogy of verbal substantives in *-ing*, *-inge* from Old English *-ung*, *-unge*.

The Preterit System.

449. The forms of the preterit system in Old English were as follows: —

		Strong.	Weak.	
		Indicative.		
Singular	1	band	styrede	dēmde
	2	bunde	styredes(t)	dēmdes(t)
	3	band	styrede	dēmde
Plural	1, 2, 3	bundon	styredon	dēmdon
		Optative.		
Singular	1, 2, 3	bunde	styrede	dēmde
Plural	1, 2, 3	bundon	styredon	dēmdon
		Participle.		
		bunden	styred	dēmed

The changes in the indicative of the weak verb are few and simple, most of them being general changes affecting



all classes of words. The second singular in *-est* has been displaced as in the case of the present tense by the plural form, except in the archaic language of poetry. But this form was common throughout Middle English and to some extent in Elizabethan times. The inflection of the preterit of strong verbs was complicated by the use of the two preterit stems. Under the levelling tendency sometimes one form, sometimes the other was preserved. In the verb *bind* the preterit *bound* springs from the plural root *bund*. In *sing*, *write*, the preterits *sang*, *wrote* come from the singular stem. In this respect these last verbs are followed by the somewhat larger number of the strong class. This change had been made, as a rule, by the time of Chaucer. Later, by the loss of finals, the present form of the preterit was reached, except that the second person singular took *-est* by analogy of weak verbs. The optative also lost all vestige of the original inflection, although its use was continued down to a comparatively recent time and it is still found in poetry.

450. The weak participle has kept its written form except in certain irregular weak verbs already mentioned, § 442. Only *d* is written, however, after many verbs ending in a vowel, as *lie*, *tie*, *hoe*, and in one verb after *r*, as *hear —heard*. With these exceptions the perfect participle of weak verbs is made phonetically by adding *ed*(*id*) to verbs ending in the dentals *d*, and *t*; *d* is added to all verbs with final vowel or voiced consonant, and *t* to all verbs ending in a voiceless consonant. Strong verbs have lost the participial suffix *-en* in many cases, while in others it has been re-

tained as *-en*, or *-n*. Examination of the strong participles shows the following facts: —

1. The suffix *-en* has been lost after stems ending in two consonants, or the nasals *m*, *n*, *n(g)*. The verbs thus affected are, with the exception of *come*, of the third gradation class. Such forms as *bounden*, *shrunken*, *sunken*, are adjectives not participles in use.

2. In stems ending in a vowel or final *r* the suffix *-en* has become *-n*. Examples are *seen*, *drawn*, *slain*, *lain*, *born*, *torn*, *sworn*. Spelling with final *e* mute occurs in *borne*, *done*, *gone*.

3. In all other cases the suffix *-en* has been preserved, if the verb has not become weak or the participle has not been replaced by the preterit through the influence of analogy. Adjectives in *-en* remain from the participles of a few strong verbs that have become weak, as *laden*, *graven*, § 424.

Minor Irregular Groups.

PRETERITIVE PRESENTS.

451. The preterits of certain verbs in Teutonic, as in other languages, assumed a present meaning, after which the original presents were lost. Examples in English are *may*, *can*, *shall;* in Latin *novi* 'I know,' *memini* 'I remember'; in Greek οἶδα 'I know.' Such verbs, called preteritive presents, developed in Teutonic a new dental, or weak preterit, together with a new infinitive usually made from the stem of the preterit plural. The preteritive presents in the Teutonic languages were all originally strong

verbs of the various gradation classes, so that their presents are inflected like strong preterits, their new preterits like weak verbs. It is particularly interesting to note that in the case of two of our English verbs, *ought* and *must*, the weak preterits have assumed present meaning as the strong preterits had done before them. The preteritive presents may be best arranged under the gradation classes to which they originally belonged.

452. CLASS I.—To class I belonged two verbs in Old English some forms of which remain to the modern speech. The first is *wot*, from OE. *wāt* 'I know,' now seldom used. The Old English plural of this was *witon*, but it was supplanted by *wot* in early Modern English, as shown by the phrase "*wot* ye not," in Genesis 44 : 15. Shakespeare also uses *wot* in the plural, besides having the new forms by analogy *wot'st*, *wots*, *woting*. The weak preterit of *wot* is *wist* occasionally used, and the infinitive is *wit*, now common only in the expression *to wit* but earlier an infinitive, as in the Bible, 2 Cor. 8 : 1, "We do you *to wit*," changed in the revised version to "We make known to you." Shakespeare has the infinitive *wit* in "Now please you *wit* the epitaph is for Marina writ," *Pericles* IV, 4, 31. An irregular perfect participle in Old English, *gewiss*, was used as an adjective meaning 'certain.' Later the word was wholly misunderstood and finally made into *I wis* < ME. *iwis*, as if a present of *wiste*; compare "Fearfully dreaming, yet *I wis*," *Christabel*, Part I, conclusion. Browning even uses *wis* in the second person "Howe'er you *wis*." The second verb of this class is *owe* from OE. *āh* 'have.' This retained its

meaning 'have' in early Modern English as shown by Shakespeare's use, while it also acquired its modern meaning 'be in debt for' and assumed weak forms. The weak preterit of *owe* was *ought*, which retains the sense of obligation, but has become present as well as past. *Ought* has also become the perfect participle in such a dialectal expression as 'had *ought*,' but this has never been recognized as standard English. Originally connected with this verb is the adjective *own* (OE. *āgen*), which has later become a verb with the original meaning of the verb *owe*, 'have.'

453. CLASS III. — No preteritive present of the second gradation class has been preserved to Modern English times. Of the third class are *can* and *dare*. The first of these has become one of our most common auxiliaries. Its preterit in Old English was *cūðe*, which became *coude* in Middle English, and was then written with *l*, perhaps to conform to the written forms of *would*, *should*. The old participle *cūð* 'known' is preserved only in the adjective *uncouth*, with change of meaning. *Dare* has for its preterit *durst* (OE. *dorste*) as well as *dared*, a new weak preterit in *-ed*. A perfect participle has also been formed for *dare* as for *owe*. In other words, *dare* has become weak, while the present is still associated with *durst*. The latter is sometimes also present in use. The present of *dare* sometimes assumes the third personal ending *-s* by analogy of regular verbs.

454. CLASS IV. — Of the fourth gradation class is *shall* with its preterit *should*. The original meaning of *shall* is



'be obliged, ought to,' but this is now preserved only in certain uses of *should*. In the present the verb is now mainly a future auxiliary.

455. CLASS V. — Here belongs *may* with its preterit *might*. The old participle *mægen* is probably preserved in such an expression as '*main* strength,' and the Old English substantive of the same form occurs in the expression 'might and *main*.'

456. CLASS VI. — The one verb of this class in Old English was *mōt* 'may, must', with its preterit *mōste*. The present is found in Chaucer's "he *moot* telle," where the idea of obligation is clearly intended. This form also remained in Modern English *mote*, and it possibly accounts for the dialectal *mought*, although this is usually explained as connected with *might*. *Must*, like *ought*, is now present in meaning while it also retains its past meaning at least in subordinate clauses.

We have already shown how the formation of preteritive present verbs has gone on in English, *ought*, *must*, sometimes *durst* having assumed present meanings though originally only preterits. The same tendency is exemplified by the colloquial *have got*, which though originally only preterit in meaning is now frequently used as equivalent to a present *have* 'own, possess,' and so may be reckoned as a colloquial preteritive present of late formation.[1]

[1] C. P. G. Scott, American Philological Association's Transactions, 1892, Appendix, p. XL.

OTHER IRREGULAR VERBS.

457. In the Indo-European language verbs were of two large classes as the first person singular of the present ended in *-ō* or *-mi*. Most verbs were of the first class but a few of the second class are found, as Greek *τίθημι*, Latin *sum* where *m* alone is preserved, and English *am* also with final *m*. A few others of the *-mi* class are also found in English, although they do not all retain a relic of the *-mi* suffix. They are also some of our most important irregular verbs, as *be*, *will*, *do*, and *go*.

458. The Old English copulative verb, our verb *to be* as we call it, was made up of three independent roots, all of which have been preserved to Modern English. These Indo-European roots were *es*, *bheu*, *wes*, preserved in our forms *is* (*are*), *be*, and *was*. The forms from these roots were numerous in Old English, but only a few of them have been retained to modern times. Thus there were two infinitives in Old English, *bēon* and *wesan*, the first of which is alone preserved in our infinitive *to be*. The root *be* in Old English was inflected throughout the present system, a first personal *bēom* retaining the final *m* characteristic of these verbs. We have preserved from this only the subjunctive *be* sometimes used, the imperative *be*, the infinitive, and the participle *being*. By analogy we also have a perfect participle *been*, Southern ME. *ibēon*, as if from OE. **ge-bēon* which does not occur. The indicative *be* was used in early Modern English as shown by Shakespeare but is now only dialectal.



459. The root *es* in Old English had indicative and optative forms, but only the former have been preserved in our singular *am, are* (*art*), *is*, plural *are*. These also correspond somewhat more nearly to Mercian and Northumbrian forms than to those of West Saxon. This is especially true of the plural *are* instead of which West Saxon has *sind*, a form still found in German. The Northern *are* is also supposed to be of Norse origin, rather than strictly English. All these forms are from the root *es*, although *s* has been lost before the *-mi* suffix in *am* and it has become *r* by rhotacism in *art, are*. The root *wes* was inflected in Old English in the imperative, infinitive, and participle of the present system, and in the indicative and optative of the preterit. We now preserve only the preterit *was—were* indicative, and *were* subjunctive. Besides the imperative *wes* is said to be preserved in our word *wassail*, supposed to be Northern *wæs*, and *heil* from the Norse, the two meaning 'be whole, happy.' The *r* of *were* like that of *are* is due to rhotacism of an original *s*. It is to be noted also that *was* is not strictly a *-mi* verb but a strong verb of the fifth gradation class, as shown by the Old English forms *wesan—wæs—wæron*.

460. To the *-mi* verbs belong also *will, do*, and *go*. *Will* is in Teutonic an optative in form with indicative meaning. Its preterit is weak in form, our *would* (OE. *wolde*). *Do* is shown to be a *-mi* verb in Old English by its first person present *dōm* in Mercian. It is found in all forms at present except that the subjunctive, as in other verbs, is seldom used. The preterit *did* (OE. *dyde*) is apparently a redupli-

cated form. The verb *go* is now found only in the present system and in the perfect participle *gone*. Its old preterit *ēode* from another root is found as *yeede*, *yede* in Chaucer and Spenser, but it has since been supplanted by *went*, an old preterit of *wend*. There are two or three anomalous forms of these verbs due to combinations with the negative. The Old English negative *ne* was prefixed to some verbs in Old English, notably *was* and *will*. These forms have not been preserved, however, except the negative form of *will* in the Shakespearean *willy nilly* 'will he, nill (*ne* + *will*) he.' The negative *not* (OE. *nāht*, *nōht*, 'nothing'), used after certain verbs, gradually united with them through lack of stress. Examples are *can't*, *mayn't*, *shan't* < *shall not* with loss of *l*. *Wont* < *will not* shows change of *i* to *u* (written *o*) after *w*. The pronunciation *wōnt* is due purely to the spelling. *Don't* does not rightly belong to the third singular but is often used for *doesn't* by analogy.

The Compound Forms.

461. Old English, like the Teutonic languages in general, had as already mentioned but two tenses, the present doing duty for present and future and the preterit for all past time. These are still used in their original sense especially in conversation, in which the present often implies future time and the preterit is used for the past perfect. The first is illustrated by such an expression as 'to-morrow *is* Friday' or by expressions of customary action, as 'death *comes* to all.' So such a sentence as 'when I *came* I found him gone' is common enough colloquially, although a more exact indica-

tion of time relations would require the past perfect in the first clause. Since Old English times, however, compound tenses have gradually been formed by the union of certain verbs which have come to perform the function of auxiliaries with the infinitive of the principal verb. Of these the future with *shall* and *will* was the first to come into use, while the future perfect was the last to become established. The gradual manner in which these compound tenses have been formed may be best illustrated by the future with *shall* and *will* which has been carefully investigated from the historical standpoint.

462. In Old English *shall* and *will* were occasionally used with infinitives, but usually with a clear recognition of the original meanings of the verbs, *shall* 'ought to,' *will* 'wish to.' During the Middle English period the future came to be regularly expressed by the auxiliary *shall*. Toward the close of the same period *will* was also used along with *shall* in the first person to express a promise or a threat. In the modern period *will*, which had begun to be used in the first person for promises and threats, came to be used in the second and third persons to express futurity. By the middle of the seventeenth century the present usage, *will* in the first and *shall* in the second and third persons to express a promise or threat, *shall* in the first person and *will* in the second and third to express futurity, had fully established itself.[1] Dialectally the levelling tendency has obliterated this distinction, and

[1] See *The English Future, its Origin and Development*, by F. A. Blackburn.

the same variation sometimes with good effects and others. The primary conjugations of the modern future tense have arisen chiefly upon a psychological basis and do not at all times correspond with the facts. Their compound tenses have not been carefully investigated in all periods of the language. Besides the compound tenses we have also a compound mode, the potential built up by the use of auxiliaries after the loss of the older subjunctive-system. This also needs historical investigation, but the full discussion of the compound forms belongs more especially to syntax.



CHAPTER XXIII.

ADVERBS AND OTHER PARTICLES.

The Adverb.

463. The classes of adverbs requiring special attention in a history of English are those formed from nouns, adjectives, and pronouns by derivative endings, since these alone have suffered considerable changes. Of these derivative adverbs, those formed from adjectives are by far the most numerous. Adverbs derived from adjectives had most commonly in Old English the suffix *-e*. Examples are *hearde, wīde* < *heard, wīd* 'hard, wide.' If the adjective itself ended in *-e* the adverb was unchanged in form, as OE. *clǣne* < *clǣne* 'clean.' All adverbs of this sort by the loss of final *e* came to have in early Modern English the same form as the adjective. Some of these have remained to the present day in standard English, as *hard, fast, first,* and many more are found in dialectal English and in the older language of poetry. For historically, it is inaccurate to say that the poet uses the adjective for the adverb, since in reality he is but continuing the use of an older adverbial form. In standard English most of these older adverbs have taken the more distinctive adverbial ending *-ly*. A few Old English adverbs, some of them

without corresponding adjectives, ended in *-a*, as *sōna* 'soon.' This final *a* became *-e* in Middle English and was later dropped.

464. We now form adverbs regularly by adding *-ly* to the adjective, and this adverbial derivative has come down to us from the earliest times. The suffix in Old English, however, was not *-ly* but *-lice* allied to *like*. This gave in Southern English of the middle period the form *-liche* so common in Chaucer. But from this *-liche* or *-lice*, it does not seem easy to derive our *-ly*, so that Ten Brink has proposed to regard it as from the Norse cognate ending *-ligr*, which was perhaps common enough over the East Midland district.[1] Or we may suppose that the final *k* of Midland *-lik* was lost in the unaccented syllable as in the weak, or unstressed form of *ik* 'I.' From whatever source, however, the adverbial *-ly* has become the predominant form in Modern English, and this suffix has extended itself by analogy to many adverbs to which it did not originally belong, as well as to foreign words, § 312. In some cases there are two forms, one with, the other without *ly*, as *hard—hardly*, *wide—widely*, *even—evenly*. But there has been, as commonly in language, a tendency to differentiate these double forms so that such adverbs as *hard*, *hardly* are not exactly equivalent in use.

465. In addition to the adverbial suffixes already mentioned there were in Old English some adverbs formed from adjectives by adding *-unga*, *-inga*, but these have not

[1] Chaucer's *Sprache und Versknnst*, § 246, note.



been preserved in literary English. A few were also formed from nouns with the suffix *-ling*. In Modern English this ending was confused with *long* as in *headlong*, *sidelong*, the last of which also appears as *sideling*.

466. Some adverbs are derived from the oblique cases of adjectives. Examples of these for the accusative case are *enough* < *genōg*; *full* < *full*, besides adverbs in *-ward* < *-weard*, as *homeward*, *upward*, *backward*. Adverbs from the genitive case are *else* < *elles*, *unawares* < *unwares*, *upwards* < *upweardes*. These classes of adverbs from the oblique cases of adjectives have been somewhat increased since Old English times, and adverbs have changed from one class to another in some cases. The genitive forms have been especially increased. For instance we have *eftsoons*, *forwards*, from forms which were in Old English *eftsōna* and *forweard*. The numeral adverbs *once*, *twice*, *thrice* < OE. *ǣne* (*āne*), *trīwa*, *ðrīwa*, are also examples of the extension of the genitive suffix, the spelling *-ce* being for voiceless *s* < ME. *-es*. A few adverbs made up of a preposition and an adjective occur at the present time, and these are in some cases from Old English forms. Thus *together* is from *togædere*, *along* < *andlong*, *without* < *wiðūt*, *before* < *beforan*.

467. Some adverbs have also been formed from the oblique cases of nouns. An example of an older genitive used as an adverb is *needs* < *nēades* in such expressions as 'he must *needs* die.' The instrumental case accounts for our adverb *sore* in 'he was *sore* afraid,' the Old English

form being *sāre*. In one case also we preserve the old dative-instrumental plural in *-um*, the old adverb *whilom* being from *hwīlum*. In *piecemeal* is preserved the shortened form of *mālum*, an old suffix in *-um*. An old accusative occurs in *alway* < *ealne weg*. In Middle and early Modern English a similar use of *way* is found, this noun together with a modifying adjective becoming united into an adverb, as in *midway*, *straightway*, *someway*. In a similar manner was compounded an old noun *wise*, meaning 'manner, way.' This in composition with certain common adjectives has made the adverbs *otherwise*, *nowise*, *likewise*. Later, the noun *way* in compounds became *-ways* by analogy of genitives, and it was then confused with *-wise*. Finally both came to be added to nouns as well as adjectives, so that we have such forms as *lengthways*, *lengthwise*, *endways*, *endwise*. Two other nouns, *time*, *while*, have become adverbs in composition with adjectives used as modifiers. Examples are *meantime*, *sometime*, *meanwhile*. We have also the genitive formations *sometimes*, *ofttimes*, by analogy. Here also may be placed many prepositional phrases that have become adverbs, as *away* < *on weg*, *beside* < *be sidan*, *adown* < *of dūne*, *to-night* < *to night*. In a similar manner certain French phrases consisting of a preposition and a noun came into use. Examples are *apart*, *apace*; *around* < OF. *en rond*, ME. *on rounde*; *perchance*, *peradventure*.

468. Some adverbs have been formed from pronouns, or pronominal roots. Thus *the* in such expressions as *the more*, *the better*, and in *nevertheless* or the older *natheless*, is in use, though not exactly in form, the old instrumental *ðȳ* of

the demonstrative *the, that.* The OE. *ðy* became ME. *the* by analogy. Of pronominal origin also are certain adverbs of place answering the question *where, whither, whence.* Of these there are in Modern English, as in the oldest period, three series from the pronominal roots of *that, what,* and *he.* They are *there—thither—thence; where—whither—whence; here—hither—hence.* Some changes have taken place in these forms since Old English times, medial *th* in the second form of each series springing from OE. *d,* and final *-ce* in *hence, thence, whence* coming from ME. *-es* which replaced by analogy the older form in *-an.* Besides, many pronominal adverbs have been formed by the union of a pronominal adverb with a preposition, or even with an adjective. Of the first sort are *therefore, wherefore, thereof, thereupon;* of the second are *somewhere, anywhere, elsewhere.* The compounds are due to a gradual union of two separate words constantly used together. Of pronominal origin also are *why, when,* and *thus.*

469. In Old English, adverbs derived from adjectives admitted of comparison, the comparative and superlative being the same as for adjectives. In other words, the comparative and superlative of the adjective could be used as adverbs. We still use the comparative of the adjective as an adverb in some cases, as *harder, nearer,* while in *formerly, latterly,* the adverbial suffix *-ly* has been added. But the similar superlative use is preserved only in a few adverbial phrases, as *at best, at least, at worst.* The Middle English form of these phrases included the demonstrative pronoun, as *atte* (at the) *best,* and a similar form, *at the best,*

is sometimes found in Modern English, but without the sanction of best usage.

470. It has been pointed out, § 133, that the borrowed words of a language are usually nouns, adjectives, and verbs, seldom words of any other class. It is true we have some adverbs of Old French origin, due especially to the fact that the Old French adjective was sometimes used as an adverb without change of form. Thus *certain*, *scarce*, are sometimes adverbs as well as adjectives. But in general these and other French words have taken the more distinctive adverbial ending *-ly*, as *scarcely*, *certainly*, or *-y* in the case of French adjectives in *-le*, as *nobly*, *possibly*. Exceptionally *very* is more common than the extended form *verily*. There are besides some adverbs of Old French origin from prepositional phrases, as noticed in § 467.

Prepositions.

471. Closely allied to adverbs are the prepositions, which were in fact adverbs in origin and many of which retain adverbial uses. For example *at* in 'he struck *at* him,' is an adverb while the same word in 'he is *at* the door' is a preposition. In Old English prepositions were simple as *at*, *on*, or compound as *before*, *about* < *on būtan*. The simple prepositions preserved to Modern English are *at*, *after*, *for*, *from*, *of*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *to*, *through*, *under*, *with*. To these were added in Middle English *by* < *bī*, *in* < *innan* which replaced older *on* in the sense of 'in.' The older *with* which meant 'against,' seldom 'with,' came to be used for 'with' alone, displacing *mid* in that sense. The confusion



no doubt arose through such expressions as *fight with* where the preposition could have either sense. At the same time *till* came into more general use beside *to*. Compound prepositions were derived from phrases composed of a preposition, and a noun or adjective in an oblique case, or from expressions made up of prepositions and adverbs of place used in a pronominal sense. Of the first kind are *among* < *ongemong*, *again*, *amidst*, *between* < *betwēonum*, *betwixt*, *beside*. Of the second class are *above*, *about*, *before* < *beforan*, *beyond*, *behind*, *beneath*, *underneath*, *within*, *without*. There are besides *toward* from *to* and the adverbial ending *ward*, *unto* an old compound form, and *until* used first in Middle English. In the same period *except* was adopted from Old French, the word being first a participle from the OF. *excepter*.

472. The list of prepositions has been considerably increased in Modern English. Especially noticeable are certain phrases used as prepositions although not written as compounds. Examples are *as to*, *as regards*, *in respect to*, *in accordance with*.

Conjunctions and Interjections.

473. Conjunctions like prepositions are in their origin adverbs of any variety, or they are sometimes derived directly from pronouns, as the conjunction *that*. Some common conjunctions are Old English. Examples of simple conjunctions preserved from Old English times are *and*, *if*, *for*, *yet*, *that*, *since*, *so*, *than* (*then*), *though*. There are also many compound conjunctions, as *but* < *be ūtan*,

therefore, wherefore, because. Some of these belong to the oldest English, some to Middle English, and some are modern. A few are made up of French words in phrases, as *because,* or they are derived from adverbs. Beside Old English *and,* there came into the language in Middle English the Norse word *and* 'if,' which remained in early Modern English as *and, an,* but is now no longer used. Many new conjunctions have become common in Modern English from adverbial uses of simple or compound words, or phrases.

474. Interjections are sometimes classed separately, rather from use than because of any special forms they have. That they are not strictly a separate class, may be clear from the fact that almost any word or sentence may be used as an interjection. Certain words constantly used as interjections may be mentioned. Of Old English origin are *lo, woe, welaway, what,* and others. *Alas* is from Old French. The origin of many others is doubtful, while many are strictly modern.

PARTICLES OF NEGATION, INTERROGATION, AND AFFIRMATION.

475. Negative and interrogative particles are adverbs in origin. In Old English the common negative particle was *ne,* used alone or in composition with a few words, as *næs* = *ne was.* In early Modern English *ne* was lost, being supplanted by the stronger *not* < *nāht.* In Old English *nā* < *ne ā*(*n*) was also used with *ne* and this has remained instead of *not* in certain expressions as *that is no use.* This *no* is also our common word of denial, *nay* from the Norse



being antiquated. The single negative in Old English was usually strengthened by another, sometimes by two others. This use of the double negative to strengthen negation was lost in the early standard Modern English, no doubt under the influence of Latin use, although it is still common among uneducated people. The interrogative particles are *where*, *whither*, *when*, *whence*, *how*, *why*, all from the stem of the interrogative-indefinite *who*. Of these *where*, *whither*, *whence* have been already noticed in § 468, and *how*, *why* in § 397. *When* < *hwænne* has *e* instead of *a* through lack of sentence stress. The Modern English affirmative particle *yes*, as well as the older *yea*, was found in Old English, the one *gē*, the other *gēse*, probably compounded of *gē* and *swā* 'so.'

INDEX.

THE numbers refer to sections. Subjects and names begin with capitals; words used as examples, except proper names, with small letters. Abbreviations are as follows: adj. = adjective; adv. = adverb; art. = article; conj. = conjunction; demon. = demonstrative; indef. = indefinite; Inter. = interrogative; n. = noun; pref. = prefix; pron. = pronoun; rel. = relative; sb. = substantive; suf. = suffix; vb. = verb.

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